

CONTROL AND SUBSIDIARITY IN THE

TONGA VERB

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Control and Subsidiarity in the Tonga Verb

The title of the thesis is the name for a method devised to describe the different uses of tense forms in Tonga. Tense forms may be said to have different functions and time references depending on their position in the sentence or discourse.

The starting point for the description of the function and time reference of the tense form is its use in simple statements and questions.

When data from a wider context was examined it proved necessary to allow a number of different time references and functions to several tense forms.

In some instances, the function, in non-initiating position, could be described as an aspect of its use in initiating position, in others, however, there appeared to be an even more radical difference of function and time reference. In the case of the Subjunctive or Dependent forms, when used in subsidiary or non-initiating position, these are describeable as narrative forms, here termed 'bridging' since they indicate that one action is terminated and another is about to take place. Since these forms are never used in initiating position the term 'Fixed Function Subsidiarity' has been coined to describe their use.

In addition, such forms as nomino-verbals, e.g., the infinitives, which are not morphologically marked for person or tense, must sometimes be interpreted as having a tense function in discourse. Subject and tense markers, are, in these cases, understood to be the same as those of the controlling tense form.

Tonga use of the many tense forms of the language and the multiple

application of some particular tense forms has been described in terms of Control and Subsidiarity. In this method of description non-initiating or subsidiary tense forms within a sentence or discourse are described as dependent for their time reference and function on a tense form controlling the sentence or discourse. A control may be of two kinds:

(1) setting up a time reference relative to the speaker and listener,

or

(2) providing a framework within which the non-initiating tense form or nominal-verbal functions.

## CONTENTS

	page
Title page	1
Abstract	2
Contents	4
Morphology	9
Abbreviations	12
Preface	13
 <u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u>	
1.0 Statement of the problem	15
1.1 The two single word past tense forms of Tonga	21
1.1.1 Distinction between the prehodiernal and hodiernal pasts	21
1.1.2 Privative opposition applied to the two past tense forms	23
1.1.3 Test of privative opposition in written Tonga	23
1.1.4 Test of privative opposition in spoken narrative	26
1.1.5 Inadequacy of privative opposition as descriptive model	29
1.1.5.1 Suggested change to invariable use of prehodiernal past rejected	30
1.2 Proximate and remote connotations as model	31
1.2.1 Time reference of the -aka- past	34
1.3 Other forms with past reference	34
1.3.1 Validity of labels on tense forms questioned	36
1.3.2 The infinitive, the restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive and the remote subjunctive as past tense forms	38

1.3.3	The inadequacy of the proximate and remote connotation as model	40
1.4	Model of initiating and non-initiating forms	40
1.4.1	Inadequacy of initiating and non-initiating forms as model	42
1.5	Model of independent and dependent forms	43
1.5.1	Inadequacy of independent and dependent forms as model	44
1.6	Requirements of an adequate model	45
1.6.1	Control and subsidiarity as model	46
<u>Chapter 2:</u>	<u>The -aka- Past in Discourse</u>	48
2.0	Introduction	48
2.1	Role of the -aka- past in discourse	48
2.1.1	Time reference of the -aka- past	48
2.1.2	Shift of attention	49
2.1.2.1	Change of subject	49
2.1.2.2	Parenthesis	54
2.1.3	Dramatic repetition	57
2.2	Two individual variations from pattern	58
2.2.1	Speaker 1 Mweetwa	59
2.2.2	Speaker 2 Venelanda	61
2.3	The -aka- past in written narrative	65
2.4	Summary	66
<u>Chapter 3:</u>	<u>The -a- Past in Discourse</u>	
3.0	Introduction	68
3.0.1	The -a- past in isolation	68
3.1	Roles in subsidiarity	69
3.1.1	Immediacy	69
3.1.1.1	Immediacy in relation to -aka- past	69



3.1.1.2	Immediacy in relation to other tenses	72
3.1.1.3	-a- subsidiary in initial sentence position	77
3.1.2	Dramatic repetition	77
3.2	The -a- past as controlling form in discourse	82
3.3	Summary	85
<u>Chapter 4:      The -la- Tense in Past Narrative</u>		
4.0	Introduction	87
4.1	The -la- tense in isolation	87
4.1.1	Time reference (a)	87
4.1.2	Time reference (b)	88
4.1.3	Time reference (c)	88
4.1.4	Historic present	88
4.2	The -la- tense in subsidiary function	90
4.2.1	Indeterminacy	90
4.3	Summary	94
<u>Chapter 5:      The Subjunctives, the -e and -ka- -e Tenses in</u>		
	<u>Past Narrative</u>	96
5.0	Introduction	96
5.1	Function in isolation, hortative	96
5.2	Dependent functions	97
5.2.1	Wish or command expressed by subjunctive	97
5.2.2	The subjunctive as conditional	97
5.3	The subjunctive as subsidiary form	97
5.3.1	Temporal bridging of the subjunctive	98
5.3.1.1	Remote subjunctive as a past temporal	102
5.3.2	Extensions of the bridging function	103

5.4	Summary	106
<u>Chapter 6:</u>	<u>The Infinitives in Past Narrative</u>	109
6.0	Introduction	109
6.1	Unstabilised infinitive, identification	109
6.1.1	The unstabilised infinitive in narrative	110
6.2	Stabilised infinitive, action	115
6.3	Restrictive stabilisation of infinitive, consequence	119
6.4	Summary	124
	Discourse Prehodiernal Past 1, Section 1	126
	Discourse Prehodiernal Past 1, Section 2	130
	Discourse Prehodiernal Past 2	133
	Discourse Prehodiernal Past 3	138
	Discourse Prehodiernal Past 4	141
	Discourse Prehodiernal Past 5	143
	Discourse Prehodiernal Past 6	145
	Discourse Prehodiernal Past 7	152
	Discourse Prehodiernal Past 8	156
	Discourse Prehodiernal Past 9	159
<u>Chapter 7:</u>	<u>Present Narrative</u>	161
7.0	Introduction	161
7.0.1	Customary action and current activity	161
7.1	Customary activity	163
7.1.1	The -la- form controlling	163
7.1.2	The -a- past controlling	168
7.1.2.1	The -a- past in conditionals	169

7.2	Current activity	172
7.2.1	The -la- present commenting on current activity	172
7.3	Summary	175
	Discourse Customary Action 1	176
	Discourse Customary Action 2	178
	Discourse Current Activity 1	180
	Discourse Current Activity 2	182
<u>Chapter 8:</u>	<u>Control and Subsidiarity in Future Narrative</u>	184
8.0	Introduction	184
8.1	The -la- tense as future	184
8.1.1	The -la- form as 'idealised future' (controlling)	185
8.2	The -ya ku- and -na ku- forms	186
8.2.1	Speaker 1	188
8.2.2	Speaker 2	189
8.3	Summary	190
<u>Chapter 9:</u>	<u>Summary and Conclusion</u>	192
	Appendix 1	198
	Appendix 2	209
	Appendix 3	212
	Bibliography	214

MORPHOLOGY.<sup>1</sup>The Tenses

1.	Imperative (i) affirmative	<sup>2</sup> R -a
2.	Imperative (ii) affirmative: strong weak	ka- DVP - R -a
* <sup>3</sup> 3.	Hortative affirmative	a- DVP - R -e
*4.	Subjunctive affirmative: strong weak	DVP - R -e
5.	Subjunctive/imperative negative	DVP -ta- R -i
*6.	Remote Subjunctive affirmative	DVP -ka- R -e
*7.	Remote Subjunctive negative	DVP -ta- -ka- -i
*8.	Present affirmative: strong weak	DVP -la- R -a DVP - R -a
9.	Present negative: strong weak	ta- DVP - R -i
*10.	Near Future Affirmative: strong weak	DVP -la- R -a
11.	Remote Future negative	ta- DVP -ka- R -i
*12.	Hodiernal Past affirmative: strong weak	C <sup>2</sup> DVP -a- R -a
13.	Hodiernal Past negative	tii - DVP - R -a
*14.	Prehodiernal Past affirmative: strong weak	CDVP -aka- R -a
15.	Prehodiernal Past negative	tii CDVP - aka- R -a
16.	Present inceptive (i)	ta- DVP -ninga- R -a
17.	Present inceptive (ii)	ta- DVP -na- R -a
18.	Hodiernal Past inceptive	tii - CDVP -a- -ninga- R -a
19.	Prehodiernal Past inceptive.	tii - CDVP -aka- -ninga- R -a

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<sup>1</sup> The numeration is taken from Carter, 1971, pp. 27-29.

<sup>2</sup> The abbreviations are explained at the end of the morphology.

<sup>3</sup> An asterisk is placed beside tense forms which appear in the thesis.



20.	Direct Relative, Present affirmative	RP - R -a
21.	negative	RP -ta- R -i
22.	Hodiernal past affirmative	CRP -a- R -a
* 23.	Direct Relative. Hodiernal Past negative	CRP -ata- -a
* 24.	Prehodiernal Past affirmative	CRP -aka- R -a
25.	Prehodiernal Past negative	CRP -ataka- R -a
26.	Indirect Relative. Present affirmative	IRP - SRP - R -a
27.	Present negative	IRP - SRP - ta- R -i
28.	Hodiernal Past affirmative	IRP - CSRP - a- R -a
29.	Hodiernal Past negative	IRP - CSRP - -ata- R -a
* 30.	Prehodiernal Past affirmative	IRP - CSRP - -aka- R -a
31.	Prehodiernal Past negative	IRP - CSRP - ataka- R -a
* 32.	Participle. Present affirmative.	ka - DVP - R -a
* 33.	Present negative	ka - DVP - ta- R -a
* 34.	Future Past affirmative	DVP - a- R -a
35.	Future Past negative	DVP - ata- R -a
36.	Present inceptive (i)	ka- DVP -taninga- R -a
37.	Present inceptive (ii)	ka- DVP -tana- R -a
* 38.	Temporal. Present affirmative	no- DVP - R -a
* 39.	Hodiernal Past affirmative	ni- CDVP -a- R -a
* 40.	Prehodiernal Past affirmative	ni- CDVP -ka- R -a
41.	Conditional. Present affirmative	no- DVP - R -a
42.	(Protasis). Present negative	no- DVP -ta- R -i
43.	Hodiernal Past affirmative	ni- CDVP -a- R -a
44.	Hodiernal Past negative	ni- CDVP -ata- R -a
45.	Prehodiernal Past affirmative	Ni- CDVP -aka- R -a
46.	Prehodiernal Past negative	ni- CDVP -ataka- R -a

47.	(Apodosis). Hodiernal Past affirmative	ni- CDVP -ataka- R -a
48.	Hodiernal Past negative	ni- CDVP -ataka- R -a
49.	Prehodiernal Past affirmative	ni- CDVP -ataka- R -a
50.	Prehodiernal Past negative	ni- CDVP -ataka- R -a

The Perfect tenses all have the perfect suffix after the root.

* 51.	Present affirmative: strong weak	DVP -li- R + suffix. DVP R + suffix
52.	Present negative	ta- DVP R+
* 53.	Hodiernal Past affirmative	CDVP - ali R+
54.	Hodiernal Past negative	tii-CDVP -a- R+
* 55.	Prehodiernal Past affirmative	CDVP - akali- R+
56.	Prehodiernal Past negative	tii- CDVP -aka- R+
* 57.	Direct Relative. Present affirmative	DRP R+
58.	Present negative	DRP -ta- R+
59.	Hodiernal Past affirmative	CDRP -a- R+
60.	Hodiernal Past negative	CDRP -ata- R+
61.	Prehodiernal Past affirm- ative	CDRP -aka- R+
62.	Prehodiernal Past negative	CDRP -ataka- R+
63.	Indirect Relative. Present affirmative	IRP SRP R+
64.	Present negative	IRP SRP -ta- R+
65.	Hodiernal Past affirm- ative	IRP CSRP -a- R+
66.	Hodiernal Past negative	IRP CSRP -ata- R+
67.	Prehodiernal Past affirmative	IRP CSRP -aka- R+
68.	Prehodiernal Past negative	IRP CSRP -ataka- R+

Abbreviations

- R      Root, as in ku-bool-a    -    'to come.'
- DVP    Dependent Verbal Prefix as in ba -la- bool - a
- CDVP   Contracted Dependent Verbal Prefix as in b-a-bool-a    -    'they came'
- RP      Relative Prefix as in ba-bool-a    -    'They who are coming.'
- CRP    Contracted Relative Prefix as in b-a-bool-a    -    'They who came.'
- IRP    Indirect Relative Prefix as in ngo-ba-yand-a    -'whom they want'.
- SRP    Single Relative Prefix
- CSRP   Contracted Single Relative Prefix
- INP    Independent Nominal Prefix

Preface

The thesis arose out of problems which occurred during a number of years spent in teaching Tonga.<sup>1</sup> As with most languages the verb system was the part of the language which required most attention and the some seventy tense forms received individual treatment. Each of the forms was checked and validated several times. My assistants, who felt a personal responsibility for the accuracy of their pupils' speech would not allow any 'ci Tonga camakuwa', i.e., obvious direct translations from English.

Nonetheless, I noticed that in conversation with my assistants and with the people of the area, we used many tense forms in ways which appeared at times, though not always, to contradict what had so carefully been taught in class. Certain tense forms acquired a second time reference while others appeared to have meanings unrelated to those they had when taught in class and finally we seemed to be using certain forms, not taught as verb forms, as if they were indicatives.

My endeavour then in the thesis was to find a descriptive model for the tense forms which would relate the forms in discourse to one another and relate the discourse occurrence of the form to its use in isolation. I recorded a great number of conversations, stories, plays, religious ceremonies and school lessons. In all I took about one hundred and fifty hours' recording in the period of field work. Much of this I scripted and analysed and the most representative samples were chosen for inclusion in the thesis.

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<sup>1</sup> I taught Tonga in 1960 and 1961 and from 1969 to 1972. From 1967 - 1969 Dr Carter of the School of Oriental and African Studies and I had programmed a teaching course of Tonga which is in use at the School and in Zambia.



The recordings are typical examples of spontaneous conversation since after an initial awareness of the tape recorder people forgot about it. When I played the recording back the speakers were often amazed at what they had said and some times wished to correct their 'mistakes'.

Since the recordings were taken in many areas of Tonga land there were certain differences in pronunciation but I have adopted the standardised orthography recommended by the Tonga Orthography Committee. A further point must be mentioned with regard to tone. In teaching I had taught the tonal patterns which are in use around the Monze area. However, I found that there were considerable differences between the eastern and western patterns in my recordings, even though the same tense forms were used. In addition to this many of the young people recorded, especially those living in towns, used a very much reduced tonal system. Despite the fact that tone patterns differed, the same tense forms were accepted in all cases. Since the study is concerned with the tense forms I decided to leave out the tone marking since constant reference to changes in tone patterns would have led to confusion and would have held up the argument. Where forms such as the hodiernal past and the Future past affirmative participle have similar morphologies I have named them and put in the tense number.

I had so many informants it would be impossible to thank them all, but I will single out Mary Ann Nhandu, my assistant in the Language School. For eighteen months she helped with many interviews and also scripted some of the tapes.

My special thanks go to Dr Hazel Carter, my supervisor, who guided me with great perception and patience through the writing of the thesis.

Chapter 1Introduction1.0 Statement of the Problem

As was said in the Preface the object of this study is to set up and validate a descriptive model for the use of the tense forms of Tonga.

In teaching Tonga over a number of years I had necessarily to teach my pupils to master the some seventy tense forms in common use in Tonga. In the morphology section<sup>1</sup> these will be found listed under their various headings. Since I was teaching in Zambia I had the opportunity of testing the accuracy of the labels assigned to the tense forms. My assistants, who had all done at least three years secondary school, and therefore knew English quite well, did not query the teaching of the forms as they stood in the course being used.<sup>2</sup>

However, I did find that there was a difference between the Tonga I taught my pupils and that which I spoke to my assistants and to other Tonga. When I spoke to my pupils I was careful to use what I knew to be correct and my assistants who were listening and were not at all shy about correcting me, assured me that what I used was acceptable.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, I became increasingly aware that while correct this style of speech seemed stilted in comparison with what I heard outside and what I myself used in the villages. It would have been too facile to say that the Tonga used in the villages was colloquial and what was used in class was 'correct', since

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<sup>1</sup>cf. p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Carter and O'Brien, 1968.

<sup>3</sup>They were particularly on the lookout for 'ci Tonga camakuwa' - 'European Tonga', i.e. obvious direct translation from English into Tonga.



all Tonga seemed to use this so-called colloquial version. My problem then was to find why there seemed to be two correct or acceptable forms of the language. I began to suspect that the schematization of the tense forms, while correct, was too neat and clear, to be an adequate representation of the way in which people spoke.

For example, I taught that there was one single-word tense form for actions which took place before today and another single-word tense form for past actions of today; moreover that the present tense referred to actions that were going on at the moment of speech or which went on 'as of nature' (e.g. 'they are talking(now)' - 'people talk'). On comparing this with 'outside-class' speech I found that both my assistants and myself mixed the past of before today and that of today and that we used the 'present tense' for certain other kinds of actions in the past. This mixture of time references I did not try to teach my pupils at first as I had no system whereby they might know how to choose. I tried, however, to give some rules of thumb that would be helpful, saying that the past of today or the hodiernal past might be used after the past of before today or prehodiernal past, when the two actions followed each other and that the present tense could be used after the past of before today when the action it denoted was incomplete.

This situation was obviously unsatisfactory as regards the hodiernal past and the present when they followed the prehodiernal past, but when it came to the examination of further forms the rules of thumb seemed to be of no value in trying to describe the behaviour of the Subjunctive - Hortative<sup>1</sup> and the Infinitives or Nomino-Verbals.

The Subjunctive - Hortative were in constant use as Temporals and

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<sup>1</sup> A dash is placed between Subjunctive and Hortative to show that these two tense forms, while having the same morphological and morpho-tonological realisation in most instances are yet two distinct forms with their own individual meaning.

there seemed to be no relation between this interpretation of the form and that which it had when used in the way it had been taught. For example, a form such as the Subjunctive - Hortative, 'Tupiluke' - 'That we may return' - 'Let us return' had to be interpreted in other circumstances as 'When we had returned'.

There is, of course, a Temporal series of tenses (38, 39 & 40)<sup>1</sup> which had been validated and taught. The problem remained, however, to incorporate the temporal use of the Subjunctive - Hortative into a total description and find what governed the choice of Subjunctive - Hortative rather than the Temporal.

I tried substituting the Subjunctive - Hortative for the Temporal tense in all cases where it occurred and it would only be accepted in some limited circumstances. For example, I tried using the form given above in the following sentence, 'Tupiluke kumunzi, twajana Mutinta'. If the Subjunctive - Hortative could be used as invariably substitutable for the Temporal then the sentence would mean 'When we had returned home we found Mutinta'. My listener told me that either I should say, 'Tupiluke kumunzi tulajana Mutinta' which means 'Let us return to the village we will find Mutinta' (which was not what I was trying to say) or 'Nitwakapiluka kumunzi twajana Mutinta' - 'When we returned to the village we found Mutinta'. Yet I had recorded the following, 'Twakakkala ciindi cilamfu ku Lusaka. Tupiluke kumunzi twajana beenzuma boonse' - 'We lived for a long time in Lusaka. When we returned home we found all our friends'.

It seemed necessary therefore, to say that the Subjunctive - Hortative could only be used as a Temporal when it was dependent in some way on what had gone before. The change of meaning of the tense form depended on its being part of a larger unit than that of the sentence.

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<sup>1</sup>cf. Morphology section.



Somewhat similar difficulties were evident in the occurrences of the nomino-verbals or infinitives of which there are three forms in Tonga, the unstabilised nomino-verbal, 'kuunka' - 'to go', the stabilised nomino-verbal 'nkuunka' - 'it is to go', and the restrictive stabilisation of the nomino-verbal, 'nkokuunka'<sup>1</sup> - 'it is the to go'.

The stabilised nomino-verbal occurred in such sentences as, 'Kuzyala musankwa nkuzyalila bamakuwa, kuzyala musimbi nkuzyalila.  
Literally this is - 'To bear a boy it is to bear for the Europeans, to bear a girl it is to bear for oneself'.

This is interpreted as: One bears boys (to work for) the Europeans but one bears girls for oneself.<sup>2</sup>

The time reference of the stabilised nomino-verbal is present or habitual and the subject is that of Class 8 (INP - ku) from 'Kuzyala' - 'To bear'.

In certain contexts, however, the interpretation of the stabilised nomino-verbal necessitated a past time reference instead of a present or habitual and also the appropriation of a subject which belongs to a Noun Class such as Class 1 (INP, u-). In the speech of Cletus Monze (D.P.P.2) I recorded,

Ino mbwaakali musonogo, walo mudaala nguweni oyu nkaambo (11) wakali musyimi weeta mali (12) nkutyola kasanga . . .

<sup>1</sup>The restrictive stabilisation is formed as follows Nazalised DVP + DVP + stem. When used with a noun stem it restricts the reference to a particular object, e.g. the stabilisation of a noun gives 'ncintu' it is a thing (something)', while the restrictive stabilisation gives it the thing 'ncecintu'. As it appears with a verbal reference it is not possible to give a translation since there is no parallel in English, 'nkokuunka' is given the literal translation of 'it is the to go'. As will be seen its interpretation as a verb form depends on its occurrence in a discourse.

<sup>2</sup>This saying refers to the practice among Tonga young men of going to town for work. Normally it is intended that the boys will return as soon as they have earned enough money to pay bride wealth, but in practice many men remain in town and are lost to their families. The English saying corresponding to this is 'Your son is your son till he gets him a wife, your daughter is your daughter the rest of your life'.

Lit. Now as he was a wise man, but he the old man he is the same this because (11) he was a clever person, who brought money (12) it is to break a little reed.

Trans. Now as he was very clever, the old man, a real genius, for everyone who brought money he broke a reed . . .

It is necessary to refer to the discourse to know who it was who broke the reed and when he did it. The discourse is necessary for the interpretation of the form.

I tried to use this stabilised nomino-verbal in isolation to give a past reference and was told that this was not acceptable. I had recorded the following,

Twakaunka ku Libingi. Nkujana kuya bantu ninsilibi.

Lit. We went to Livingstone. It is to find there people they are black ants.

Trans. We went to Livingstone. We found that the people were as numerous as ants.

I then tried the following sentence,

\*<sup>2</sup>'Nkujana ku Libingi bantu ninsilibi.

Lit. It is to find at Livingstone people are ants.

I was told that this did not mean anything unless it came after some other statement saying I had gone to Livingstone.

Similarly the restrictive stabilisation of the nomino-verbals must be interpreted as if it had tense and subject markers in a discourse as for example in the speech of Maria Haakola, D.P.P.3.

(27) Nkokutuleta kokuno kubu Tonga.

Lit. (27) It is the to us bring here to Tonga land.

Trans. And eventually he brought us here to Tonga land.

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<sup>1</sup>The asterisk is placed before forms or sentences that are unacceptable.



This raises the further problem of the distinction between the stabilised nomino-verbal and the restrictive stabilisation of the same form since there are sentences such as that quoted above where the stabilised version appears in sentences in isolation while the restrictive stabilisation does not.

The case is even more striking with the unstabilised nomino-verbal or infinitive which has no morphological of stability, time reference or person yet required all three in the interpretation of its occurrence in certain contexts. This form was not acceptable when tried in simple sentences outside a discourse as a past tense form yet it is found as such in the middle of a discourse; nor did it occur in these positions as subordinate to another verb in the same sentence as may be seen in the following example from Jakopa Vundiyana D.P.P. 1.

Aba We (26) twaakujana (27) basika kale ntentente banji-banji.

(28) Kuti, 'Oh, twamuleta. Ngooyu waali kutola mal'aanu.

Lit. And the ba We (26) we found (27) they have arrived already, crowds they many-they many.

(28) To say, 'Oh, we have him brought; Here he is who was taking money yours.

Trans. As for the We people we found that they had already arrived in droves. The policeman said, 'Well, we have brought him here. Here is the man who was taking your money.'

In this instance at (28) the unstabilised nomino-verbal is interpreted as 'The policemen said', since the only alternative form for 'kuti' in this position is 'bakaamba kuti' - 'they said that . . .

In all these cases it would seem clear that the operation of the form cannot be described in terms of the sentence in which it occurs, reference must be made to a larger unit such as the discourse.

It became manifest that while each individual sentence I taught my pupils was acceptable, the approach used did not take into account the fact

that people do not speak in sentences only but that there were larger units into which these sentences fitted. It is not sufficient either to say that the individual sentences could be described first as isolate entities and then slotted into the discourse. Not only did a sentence within a discourse depend for its context on the surrounding sentences, but certain sentences would not have the same meaning when used in isolated sentences and when used in discourse (cf. the examples above of the Subjunctive - Hortative). It was necessary to find a way of describing the sentences within the discourse and as part of the discourse so as to take account of the very considerable differences of meaning.

Since the problem had first cropped up with the relationship between the past of before today and that of today I decided to begin the investigation with these two forms.

#### 1.1 The two single word past tense forms of Tonga.

It has been usual as in Collins to divide the past between two one word tense forms, 'one referring to a past time of today (hodiernal past) and the other referring to a past time before today (prehodiernal past).'<sup>1</sup>

I found, however, that not only are there other tense forms with a past reference but that the distinction set up as to the time reference of these two tense forms cannot be regarded as being as clear as it would seem at first sight.

It is true in certain circumstances that the division of time reference between the prehodiernal past and the hodiernal past does hold and I will start with an example of how this division is accurate within a limited compass.

##### 1.1.1 Distinction between the prehodiernal and hodiernal pasts

The distinction between the two past tense forms is exemplified in the

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<sup>1</sup>Collins, 1962, p. 35.



following answers given by two children when asked where their parents were.

A. Taata waunka ku Monze - Literally - My father he has gone to Monze. Here the child uses the hodiernal past, Tense 12.<sup>1</sup> This statement explicitly includes the notion that the child's father went to Monze within the previous few hours and almost certainly since dawn. Normally then, this tense form used in simple statements or questions refers to an action or event which took place a short time prior to speech.

Another child when asked where her mother was, replied,

B. Bakaunka<sup>2</sup> kumunzi<sup>3</sup> - literally 'She has gone to the village'.

Here the child has used the prehodiernal past, Tense 14. The time reference is different to that of Tense 12 above. This latter statement, at B, explicitly includes the notion that the child's mother went home at some time prior to the day of speech.

It would be difficult to say at exactly what time the hodiernal past, 'waunka' - 'he has gone' changes to 'wakaunka' - 'he has gone' i.e. the prehodiernal past. For example one would say,

Ijilo bakoona ciindi ca 9 o'clockk. Yesterday they went to bed at 9.

BUT

Sunu babuka ciindi ca 6 o'clock. Today they got up at 6.

If, however, the people got up during the night one could say either, 'Bakabuka' or 'babuka' masiku. They got up during the night, depending on whether one regarded the getting up as related to today or yesterday.

There would seem to be therefore, at least in simple statements a fairly clear difference between Tenses 12 and 14 and the two forms would cover the totality of past time.

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<sup>1</sup>The tense forms are to be found in the morphology section. Their numbering is taken from Carter, 1971, pp. 27-29.

<sup>2</sup>In Tonga a person's father may be referred to by the singular DVP, u-, one's mother, however, must always be given the honorific plural DVP, ba-.

<sup>3</sup>'kumunzi' - literally - 'to' or 'at' the village refers to one's home village and is translated 'home'.

### 1.1.2 Privative opposition applied to the two past tense forms

If, then, there are only two past tense forms in Tonga the model of privative opposition should give an adequate descriptive device to show how the language refers to events occurring in the past.

Privative opposition is borrowed from the Prague School of Phonology, the writers of which used the concept to differentiate between the phonemes of a language. 'In privative opposition one term is defined positively, that is, in terms of its essential and inherent meaning. This term is called the 'marked' member. The other term is defined negatively as not inherently possessing the meaning of the marked member.<sup>1</sup>

If now the model of privative opposition or marked and unmarked forms is applied to the two tense forms under discussion then the prehodiernal past, Tense 14, can be called the marked form. It refers to the period of time before today and does not at any time change its time reference and can therefore be said to be 'defined positively'. The -a- form is called the unmarked form, because, as will be seen later it does change its time reference, in certain circumstances.

Therefore, in the narration of events which took place at a very long time prior to the speech referring to them one could expect that the tense form used to denote such events would be the prehodiernal past, Tense 14. For the sake of brevity the prehodiernal past will be referred to as the -aka- past.

### 1.1.3 Test of privative opposition in written narrative

The first example to test the model is chosen from a book 'Nyoko Ngumwi'. The events leading up to this passage were as follows, Jakopo, the father of the family had had an epileptic fit and his wife had had dreams the

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<sup>1</sup>Forsyth, p.6.



previous night foretelling some disaster. Taken together these events were regarded as 'Malweza' - 'bad luck/evil fortune'. The family decided to kill a fowl to exorcise the evil.

The narrative<sup>1</sup> tenses will be underlined, these will again be underlined in the literal translation following the Tonga passage, but not in the translation.

Musyule, mudaala (1) wakaambila Coolwe kuti bakakame mukupa (2) Bina Coolwe bakajika kacese. (3) Bakavoomana antoomwe boonse (4) bakalya. Masiku (5) bakajaya nkuku isiya kwategwa 'tutande malweza'. Obo buzuba mbobakamanina buyo kulya nyama yankuku (6) bakoona. Bana bakazyibide kwaana mazuba conse masiku ayo (7) teebakaana. Ncibakalota masiku ayo boonse, cita naa, ninzi. Bina Coolwe (8) bakali kwiide kukwiila. Namwiinga (9) wakali kuuma Jolezya nobakali koono. Mudaala (10) wakali kubwenta (10a) kumwi kayabila kunhonzi. Coolwe (11) wakali kuvwitima kubee kuli wasinwa; alike<sup>2</sup> Jolezya ngowakali kulota kucaila. Pesi kubucedo boonse (12) bakasuntuka kooma.

#### Literal Translation.

In the back, the old man (1) he told Coolwe that they should milk the milk. The mother of Coolwe<sup>3</sup> (2) she cooked kacese<sup>4</sup> (3) They gathered together they all, (4) they ate. Night (5) they killed a fowl which is black there was said, 'let us chase away the bad luck. That day as they finished off just to eat the meat of the fowl (6) they slept. The children who were used to

<sup>1</sup> 'Narrative' according to the Shorter Oxford Dictionary (3rd edition, 1968) is 'an account or narration, a tale or recital (of facts, etc.)' or 'that part of a deed or document which narrates the relevant or essential facts.' These descriptions of narrative would seem somewhat circular and it was felt a further element should be introduced so I described the narrative used in this study as 'the recital of a series or sequence of events, which, real or imaginary, are envisaged as taking place sometime prior to their being written down or spoken of'.

<sup>2</sup> 'alike' - more commonly spelt with two k's.

<sup>3</sup> A Tonga woman is frequently referred to as 'Mother of . . .' (normally the name of her first child). Among the Western Tonga the fiance will give his future wife the name of 'Mother of . . .' (and give the name they intend giving their first child).

<sup>4</sup> 'kacese' - roots gathered in the bush, cut up and cooked.

telling stories days all at night that (7) they did not tell stories.

What they dreamt night that they all, I don't know if<sup>1</sup>, it is what. The mother of Coolwe (8) she was just to cry out loudly. Namwiinga (9) was to hit Jolezya when they were to sleep. The old man (10) he was to complain (10a) the while he singing sad songs in sleep. Coolwe (11) he was to snore<sup>2</sup> let it be there is who was hanged; he alone, Jolezya is the one who was to dream to drive cattle. But at dawn they all (12) they slept soundly.

Translation.

After that, the old man told Coolwe that they should do the milking. The mother of Coolwe cooked roots. They all gathered together and ate. That night they killed a black fowl in order to exorcise their misfortune. That evening as soon as they had finished eating the fowl, they went to bed. The children, who normally told stories every evening did not do so that night. What they dreamt of that night I do not know. The mother of Coolwe was just moaning aloud. Namwiinga was hitting Jolezya in his sleep. The old man was complaining and singing dirges in his sleep. There was a rattling in Coolwe's snores as if someone was being hanged. Jolezya, of them all, dreamt of driving cattle. But towards dawn they all fell into a deep sleep.

In the passage quoted there is also a compound tense related to the - aka - past. This is the Past Continuous or the Past Habitual Tense. This tense form has the same time reference as the prehodiernal past and so the events it refers to are to be seen as taking place at some time prior to the day of speech.

In the passage quoted from 'Nyoko Ngumwi' the narrative verbs are either in the -aka- past or the continuous past, the -akali ku- past, with one

<sup>1</sup> 'cita' - 'I do not know' - has not the usual morphology of a verb form. This is more commonly spelt 'ccita'.

<sup>2</sup> 'kuvwitima' - is used to indicate snoring with a rattle in the throat and so is also used for the death rattle.



exception. This occurs at no. 10a, 'kumwi kayabila' - 'the while he singing sad songs'. This tense form is the Present Participle, Tense 32. It is used to refer to an action which is contemporaneous with the preceding action. With this one exception the passage quoted above has the tense forms one would expect in a narrative of past events in Tonga.

#### 1.1.4 Test of privative opposition in spoken narrative

However, when one listens to spoken narrations of past events in Tonga one finds a variety of tense forms. This makes the regularity of the written Tonga singular by reason of its very regularity. When the investigation of the tense forms as used in spoken narrative has been got under way I shall refer again (cf. 2.3 ) to the written form to see if some explanation can be given for the apparent discrepancy between spoken and written Tonga.

Three examples of spoken narrative are given here to show something of the variety of tense forms which are used to relate past events. They are extracts from the passages given in full at the end of Chapter 6 and reference is made to their numeration as they occur there.

The first example of spoken narrative is taken from a widow, Paulina Mukansefwa, a fluent and easy raconteuse. In this passage she is telling her children about the death of their father. Again the narrative forms are underlined.

Ngamba kuti (1) wakafwa nsyeelendikke, ndimujisi kumutwe mulum'aangu.  
 (2) Ndabona (3) watalika kugusya meso. Hena nkufwa shuah masimpe?  
 (4) Nkubona mbwaakati meso (4a) waagusya oku mubi, nkiide mutwe amubili oku ulilede abulo, (5) ndati abikke mutwe wakwe amaulu. Nkubona muntu wagusya meso.

#### Literal Translation.

I am saying that (1) he died me being on my own, I am holding to the head husband mine. (2) I saw (3) he has begun to pull out the eyes. ?<sup>1</sup> it is

<sup>1</sup> 'Hena' in Tonga is a question marker which leaves the order of words in a sentence unchanged. In the literal translations I have used a question mark before the utterance to indicate 'hena'.

to die sure truly? (4) It is to see as he said the eyes (4a) he them pulled out there, the poor person, it is just the head and body there he is lying on the bed, (5) I said that he should put head his on feet. It is to see a person who has pulled out eyes.

#### Translation.

What I am saying is that my husband died while I was on my own, with me holding him by the head. I saw that he had begun to pull out his eyes Oh! is this what death is? When I saw that he was about to pull out his eyes the poor man, with his head and body on the bed I said that he should put his head on my lap. Oh! to see someone pull out their eyes.

In this extract, which has five forms with past reference there is only one use of the -aka- past. In nos. 2, 3, 4a and 5 Paulina uses what has been referred to as the hodiernal past, Tense 12, and which will from now on be referred to as the -a- past. In no. 4 there is the stabilised nomino-verbal. This latter is not referred to as a tense form in any work on the language and its status as such will be investigated in Chapter . A similar, though not identical pattern of speech emerged in the next extract which is taken from Maria Haakola (Discourse Prehodiernal Past 3). Here again there is a variety of tense forms all referring to past events. The old lady is giving an account of her mother's capture and enslavement by the Matabele.

Ino Baama nkondo (1) yakabajana mu Mbesa oku kuba Maala. (2) Ibajane ku Nbesa wakali kujesi omwana uunyonka umusankwa. Eno (3) bakababweza ba Matabele (4) babatola.

#### Literal Translation.

Now my mother the war (1) it her found in Mbesa, there to the Maala. (2) That it might her find to Mbesa, she was having a child who sucks, a boy. Then (3) they her laid hands on the Matabele (4) they her took away.

#### Translation.

The fighting caught up with my mother at Mbesa, there among the Maala.



At the time it caught up with her at Mbesa she was suckling a child, a boy.

The Matabele captured her and took her off.

In this passage, which also will be found in full at the end of Chapter 6 (Discourse Prehodiernal Past 3), there are four narrative tense forms all of which relate to the time set up by the -aka- tense form in

(1.)

In no. 2 there is a tense form similar in morphology to the hortative Tense or to the Subjunctive Tense. It has been interpreted here as a temporal with a narrative function and this interpretation will be justified in Chapter 5. In (4) Maria uses the -a- past following the -aka- past at

(3.)

The third example is taken from the speech of Roda Cikuni, a teacher trainee. On the day before this recording I had taken Roda and three other teacher trainees to a 'Lwiindi', a Rain Festival and had told them as I took them that we would record their impressions the following day. The extract from Roda's speech deals with the beer-pouring part of the ceremony.

(8) Nobakamana waawo baka . . (9) bakaunka nkobakasiile bukoko batu . .

(10) batubweza tumwi tubiya (11) balatila alya amulyango . . .

#### Literal Translation.

(8) When they finished there they . . . (9) they set out for where they had left the beer, they them . . . (10) they them lifted up some small pots (11) they are pouring there at the gate . . .

#### Translation.

When they had finished there they . . they went to where they had left the beer, they . . . they picked up some pots and poured beer there at the gate . . .

In this extract, at (10) there is the -a- past used after the -aka- past at no. 9. At (11) there is the Present or Proximate Future Tense, Tense 8 or 10. (11) balatila has been interpreted as 'they poured' since it would be impossible to give a present or future reference to an action which

to my knowledge, had taken place the previous day.

Examples of spoken past narrative where there is a variety of tense form with past reference could be given from all the speakers recorded. It is clear that it is not only the -aka- past which is used to denote actions which took place a long time prior to speech.

Thus far, as well as the -aka- past, which we would have expected from the model set up in 1.1.1 there have been four other forms used with a past reference. The first of these is the -a- past which though a past tense form, would be expected to refer to the near past; the second is the -la- present or future tense; the third is the subjunctive or hortative and the fourth is the stabilised nomino-verbal which if it any time reference this is to the present.

#### 1.1.5 Inadequacy of private opposition to describe the past tense forms

A model was set up for the description of the past tenses in Tonga based on privative opposition between the time references of the two tenses which are commonly regarded as the only past tenses of the language. This model depended on the time reference of the two tense forms being always distinct. However, from what has been seen above it would appear that there is definite doubt as to the validity of the distinction. In the speech of Paulina Mukansefwa above, the action referred to by the -a- past at no. 2 'Ndabona' - 'I saw' must have taken place before that referring to her husbands death i.e. no. 4. 'wakafwa' - 'he died'. In the speech of the old lady, Maria Maakola the tense form used in (4) must refer to the same time as that of the -aka- form used in 'Bakababweza' - 'They her laid hands on, yet 'babatola' - 'they her took off' uses the -a- past. While in this instance the action referred to by the -a- past does take place after that referred to by the -aka- past, it could not be thought of as occurring within the few hour prior to the speech referring to them both.

The distinction between the time references of the -aka- and a- past



tense forms as used in everyday speech and of which a typical example was given in 1.1 is too well established to abandon, at least for simple spoken statements and questions. There does, however, appear to be grounds for questioning the applicability of the distinction in all spoken, if possibly not in written narrative.

It would seem then that some further distinction should be made in the time references of the -aka- and a- pasts if there is to be an adequate description of their use in spoken narrative.

#### 1.1.5.1 Suggested change to invariable use of -aka- form rejected

One Tonga, when consulted about the difference between the written form as it appears in 'Nyoko Ngumwi' and the spoken narratives just quoted said, 'Some people do not speak good Tonga, all the words should have -aka-'. She then proceeded to rewrite the script of Paulina's recording as follows. The original narrative forms which Paulina used will be put in brackets beside the rewritten underlined forms.

Ngamba kuti (1) wakafwa nsyeelendikke, ndimujisi kumutwe mulum'aangu.

(2) Ndakabona (ndabona) (3) wakatalika (watalika) kugusya meso. Hena shuah masimpe? (4) Ndakabona (nkubona) (wakati (mbwaakati))<sup>1</sup> meso waagusya oku mubi, nkiide mutwe amubili oku ulilede abulo. (5) Ndakati (ndati) abikke mutwe amaulu. Nkubona muntu wagusya meso.

This suggestion, while appealing in its simplicity and clarity, would condemn the majority of Tonga to being inadequate speakers of their own language so another line of enquiry was sought.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the informant

<sup>1</sup>The change from the original relative to the indicative will be dealt with later on.

<sup>2</sup>The same girl when recording herself, used as great a variety of tense forms as any of the other speakers. There is, I feel, an unthinking assumption especially among school children that 'Whatever is written down is correct.' I have rarely found anyone who would say that pringed Tong was incorrect even in places where they admitted that they themselves would never use a particular form which I had pointed out in a book.

in rewriting the passage, gave a valuable clue in changing no, 4, 'Nkubona' to 'Ndakabona' and that will be taken up later. First, however, I shall try to provide a descriptive framework which will include the use of the -a- past in situations outside those one would have been led to expect. For the moment I am leaving in abeyance the discussion of the other forms such as the -la- present, the stabilised nomino-verbal and the subjunctive - hortative all of which acquire a past reference in a past discourse. It would seem to me necessary to find some method of distinguishing the two past tenses before going on to find out how other tense forms may acquire a past reference. At the moment I am restricting myself to the spoken word as it is on the basis of my recordings that I am working. Reference will be made later to written Tonga (cf. Part 1, Chapter 2.3) and the passage quoted from 'Nyoko Ngumwi' will be compared with that from another author. In Chapter 2, 2.1 and 2, I will also deal with passages where the speakers seem to follow a pattern similar to that of the written narrative we have seen.

The antinomy which I am trying to solve is again the following. In simple sentences there would seem to be a clear distinction of time reference between the prehodiernal the -aka- past and the hodiernal the -a- past while when the -a- past follows the -aka- past in a discourse it would seem to have a time reference similar to that of the -aka- past.

#### 1.2 Proximate and remote connotations as models

A possible way out of the dilemma was found when trying to write Road Safety Rules for Children. The following sentence was suggested as a caption for a picture showing a motor car which had braked so that a child could cross the road.

a) Wakaimikila moota kuti atakamulyati mwana. He stopped the car lest he run over the child.

However, the sentence was corrected to read,

b) Wakaimikila moota kuti atamulyati mwana. He stopped the car lest he run over the child.



Sentence a) contains the underlined Remote Subjunctive affirmative, tense 6 and sentence b) contains the Subjunctive affirmative underlined, tense 4. The translation of the two sentences is the same in English but the first was considered not to give a correct description of the scene in Tonga. In sentence (a) the insertion of the -ka- in 'atakamulyati' - 'lest he run over the child' was said to remove any temporal connection between the stopping of the car and the not running down of the child. As one Tonga said in explanation, 'There are two sentences; 'Wakaimika mootā' is one sentence and 'Kuti atakamulyati mwana' is another'. While one might not like to consider the latter clause as a sentence, the method chosen to express a lack of connection between the two parts of sentence (a) could hardly be clearer.

In sentence (b) there is the Subjunctive, 'kuti atamulyati', Tense 4 and this form was used in the correction to show that there was a temporal connection between the stopping of the car and not running over the child.

With the distinction between these two Subjunctive forms one would seem again to be in the area of opposition of marked and unmarked forms which has been mentioned already (1.1.2). In this case, however, it seems to be an opposition between an immediate temporal connection and a remote or doubtful one. As far as the Tonga I questioned about these two sentences were concerned there was no connection in sentence (a) between the stopping of the car and not running over the child while (b) was interpreted to mean that the reason the man had stopped the car at that moment was to avoid knocking over the child who had stepped out onto the road.

What is important from the point of view of our investigation of the tense forms is the fact that both these subjunctives follow on 'Wakaimika mootā' - 'He stopped the car', i.e. the -aka- part. The interpretation which is called for then, is that when the -aka- past is followed by the remote Subjunctive (which contains -ka-) then there is no temporal connection between the actions referred to by the two tense forms. But when the same -aka- tense form is followed by the Subjunctive, Tense 4, then there is a

close temporal connection between the actions referred to by the two tense forms. It was decided to try to interpret the uses of the -aka- and -a- pasts on a model based on the example taken from the sentences above dealing with Road Safety. The first example chosen is taken from the speech of Maria Haakola (1.4.2).

Eno (3) bakababweza ba Matabele (4) babatola.

Literal Translation (Lit) Then (3) they her laid hands on the Matabele (4) they her took away.

Translation (Trans.) Then the Matabele laid hands on her and took her away.

From what has been said above on the relationship in sentence (b) between the -aka- past in 'Wakaimika' and the subjunctive in 'atamulyati' I suggest that the relationship between the -aka- past in no. 3 Bakababweza - 'They her laid hands on' and the -a- past in no. 4 'babatola' - 'they her took away' is intended to indicate that the action it refers to took place in a temporal relationship to the action referred to in no. 3. The action of which no. 4 speaks took place shortly after the action indicated by no.3. It could be assumed that when the -a- past is used after the -aka- past then the -a- past takes on the aspect of immediacy or proximity in time relative to the action referred to by the -aka- form. Working on this assumption, when two or possibly more events take place immediately following on one another, the -a- form would be expected for the second and subsequent verbs.

This could be put forward as a tentative first rule in the selection of tense forms in a Tonga narrative. When two or more events follow one another in close temporal sequence and the first tense form chosen is the -aka- past, the second and subsequent narrative verbs may be used with the -a- past. It will be found that this rule, while applicable to the speech of all those recorded, has a higher incidence of validity in the speech of older people than in that of younger ones. Reference to the speech of Venelanda (Discourse Prehodiernal Past 6) will show that



especially in the earlier part of her discourse this girl used the -aka- form for events which followed each other in close sequence.

### 1.2.1 Time reference role of -aka- past

One point would seem to have emerged however with regard to the -aka- past in what has been said above. Where the discourse is begun by the -aka- tense form the time reference of the discourse is dependent on the -aka- form. The forms which follow, in this case the -a- past will be seen to take their time reference from the -aka- form.

It is therefore, as setting a time reference that the function of the -aka- past is described. Its time reference would seem valid for the passage which follows on its use and the listeners would know that all events which followed it and were connected with the event mentioned by the -aka- form were to be considered as being under its time reference. The time reference of the -aka- past will be dealt with more exhaustively in Chapter 2.

### 1.3 Other forms with past reference

Having examined in some detail the relationship between the time reference of the -aka- and -a- pasts in narrative I return to a consideration of some of the other forms used in past narrative. It was pointed out that these forms do not, in simple sentences have a past reference yet they are interpreted as having such a reference when they follow the -aka- form. Some indication of their use in simple sentences is given here so that an idea may be obtained of the requirements for a model to describe the use of the tense forms.

The order in which the examples occurred is being reversed here and the -la- present tense is being considered first. This is being done because the -la- present tense, like the -a- past is a tense form which is used in simple sentences and has, given certain provisions, its own time reference. As will be seen later it is used as the main verb form in some discourses.

The ~~a~~- present occurs in the speech of Roda cikuni. It occurs at (11). In a simple sentence it would be interpreted as:

Balatila alya amulyango. They are pouring there at the gate

They always pour there at the gate

They will pour (shortly) there at the gate.

In (11) because it occurs after the -aka- past it has been interpreted as 'they poured (the beer) there at the gate'. The past reference of the -la- tense here seems to be describable in terms of its occurrence after the -aka- past. However, as will be shown later the -la- form retains one of its aspects as a present tense just as the -a- past retains an aspect of its hodiernal past use. The -la- form, when used as a present tense does not indicate the completion of an action and so when used after the -aka- past it indicates an action under the aspect of incompleteness. As was pointed out above the -a- past and the -la- present may both be used to begin discourses and have their own time reference, this perhaps accounts for their retention of some of their aspectual reference when used after another tense form.

The stabilised nomino-verbal occurs in the speech of Paulina Mukansefwa at (4) Nkubona - literally - 'It is to see' which is interpreted as 'When I saw'. This form, when used in simple statements, is normally restricted to such fixed expressions as 'nkubeja' - You are lying or 'nkujana' 'It was found that'. The number of verb roots with which this form may be used in simple statements is small and with those it has a present reference. When used in past narratives after the -aka- form the stabilised nomino-verbal may be used with virtually any verb root as will be seen when the form is examined in detail (Chapter 6). As maybe seen the stabilised nomino-verbal is not marked for subject and only within certain limited conditions is it marked for tense yet it will be seen that it acquires both subject and past time reference when used in a past narrative.

The Subjunctive or Hortative occurs with past temporal reference in the speech of Maria Haakola when at (2) it has been interpreted as 'At the time when it caught up with her'. The form occurs in what is regarded as its



normal environment as follows, Atweende - 'Let's go' This is the Hortative, tense 3.

Ndati abikke mutwe wakwe amaulu - 'I said that he should put his head on my lap'. This is the Subjunctive, tense 4.<sup>1</sup>

In neither of these instances could the forms be said to have a past temporal reference yet they demand this interpretation as they occur in the speech of Maria Haakola.

It would seem then that certain forms undergo a change of reference when they occur in past narrative. This change differs according to whether the form in question is or is not one which may itself be used to set the time reference of a discourse or not. The former are such tense forms as the hodiernal past and the present, which may be used to set the time reference of a discourse, while the latter are the subjunctive - hortative and the nomino-verbals which do not set the time reference for a discourse. In the latter case the change of reference is more radical than in the former and this brings into question the labels used to denote Tonga tense forms.

#### 1.3.1 Validity of labels on tense forms questioned

If the tense form has one reference when used in isolation and another, apparently very different when used in a narrative of past events, then it would seem inadequate to label the form as if it had only one function and one time reference. It would be difficult to justify the label, Hodiernal Past for a tense form which refers, as this one frequently does, to events which took place a long time prior to speech. The same would hold for the Present tense whose reference changes from either present or proximate future

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<sup>1</sup>The Subjunctive as it appears here is a dependent form but not subsidiary in the way that will be used to describe the relationship of the hodiernal past to the prehodiernal past or that of the subjunctive - hortative used as a temporal to the controlling form in a discourse.

to past when it occurs after a prehodiernal past. Thus there would appear to be a semantic change between the use of the forms in isolation and their use in discourse after a prehodiernal past.

An even more radical change would seem to occur in the case of the subjunctive - hortative as used in past narrative. Instances of this tense as syntactically stable outside past narrative do occur, though they are rare, and more often it is found as unstable.<sup>1</sup> Additionally, when it occurs in a past narrative it may not be used as the only verb in a sentence nor may it be used to complete a sentence but requires some other form after it. The conditions for its appearance in a sentence in discourse and those holding for its appearance in what would be accounted its more normal environment are different.

For these reasons, though I shall continue to refer to the tense forms by the names given in the morphology section, I shall also put in the distinguishing morphological characteristic since to label them with one name is to prejudice the enquiry. (This will also be shorter than putting in warnings before each use of the label). From now on the forms will be referred to as follows:

The prehodiernal past - the -aka- past.

The hodiernal past - the -a- past.

The present - the -la- tense

The future (proximate) - the -la- tense

The subjunctive - the -e tense  
(hortative)

The stabilised - the nku- form  
infinitive

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<sup>1</sup>This is the terminology of Guthrie - personal communication to Dr. Carter.



1.3.2 The infinitive/nomino-verbal, restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive and the remote subjunctive as past tense forms.

Further investigation will show that there are several more forms used with a past reference which they do not have when they are used in simple statements. There is the simple nomino-verbal form, the restrictive stabilisation of the nomino-verbal and the Remote Subjunctive or Hortative.

Examples of these further tense forms are as follows, the first is taken from the speech of Maria Haakola (D.P.P. 3).

Eno (8) bapiluluke Baama (9) kuti, 'Hai mwandijayila mwaalumi'.  
Lit. Now (8) that she might turn round my other (9) to say, 'Hai, you have on me killed husband.

Trans. Now when my mother had turned round she said, 'Hai, you've killed my husband.

The form underlined here 'kuti' - 'to say' is not used in simple statements or questions and nonetheless has been interpreted as 'she said'. The form which is the simple nomino-verbal or the infinitive has neither subject nor tense marker. For these it must rely on prior forms, the subject is understood to be the ba- of 'bapiluluke' - 'that she might turn round' and the time reference is taken from the -aka- form which occurs in no. 1 and which sets the general time reference of the passage.

The second is taken from the same lady's speech,

Eno (17) balikkede, balikkede, balikkede. (18) Nkokukwatwa kuli taata aakatuzyala.

Lit. Now (17) she is living, she is living, she is living. (18) It is the to be married to father who bore us.

Trans. So she sat, and sat and sat. And eventually she was married to our father.

The form underlined here, the restrictive stabilisation of the nomino-verbal, is not used in simple statements. It occurs as a consequence of

something which has been said previously. Like the two forms of the nomino-verbal seen so far, the restrictive stabilisation, the nkoku- form is marked for neither subject nor tense. In this instance, it relies on (17) balikkede - she sat, for its subject marker and on a preceding -aka- form for its time reference. In this way it is interpreted as 'And eventually/ consequently she was married to our father. Mention has already been made of the uses of the Subjunctive - Hortative in past narrative. There is also a Remote Subjunctive or Hortative. These would be used as follows:

Koya! ukasike - Go! that you may arrive. (interpreted as 'Safe Journey) which is the Hortative.

Komwaambila kuti akasike kumazuba - To him tell that he should arrive in the evening (interpreted as 'Tell him that he should come in the evening) Remote Subjunctive.

In past narrative, however, this form occurs in situations such as the following: which is taken from the speech of Jakopo Vundiyanga (D.P.P.1)

Ooyo mupulisa oyo, musilikani oyo (9) akasike ku Kalomo (10) kuti, Oh! nobasilikani.

Lit. That policeman that, askari that (9) that he might arrive at Kalomo (10) to say, Oh! you askaris . . .

Trans. But when (that policeman) had got to Kalomo he said, 'Oh! fellow policemen.

The Remote subjunctive - hortative has, in past narrative, a very different interpretation to that given it in sentences such as those quoted above, When used in past narrative it acquires a temporal reference which it does not have when used in what might be regarded as its more conventional role and from which it got its label as Subjunctive or Hortative. This once more brings into question the validity of the labels which have been commonly applied to the tense forms. Again, while continuing to use the normal label for this tense form, I shall add the morphologically distinguishing features of the tense form which in this case will be -ka- -e.



### 1.3.3 Inadequacy of proximate and remote connotations as model

Thus far I have examined the use of various tense forms in past narrative. Firstly, the distinction of the two past tenses commonly assigned to Tonga was examined and the model of Privative Opposition was used to differentiate between them. This distinction was however seen to be less clear than it has at first appeared and the model used was seen to be inadequate. The reason for this was that in narratives of events which took place a long time prior to speech the hodiernal past, the -a- past was used with a time reference which was different to that which it had in simple statements. An attempt was made to describe the change in aspect of the -a- past when used after the -aka- form in past narrative. However, while the description set up covered the -a- past, it did not cover the other tense forms which were used with past reference in the narratives examined.

It was noted that there were a number of other tense forms which would seem to have changed their reference in some way when they were used in a narrative begun by an -aka- past. These tense forms were, the -la- present or proximate future, the nomino-verbal, the stabilised nomino-verbal, the restrictive stabilised nomino-verbal, the subjunctive - hortative and the remote subjunctive or hortative. With this number of tense forms occurring in past narrative and each connected in some way with the -aka- past, a model such as that taken by analogy from the Road Safety Rules model would be inadequate since it would only copy with the relationship between the prehodiernal and hodiernal pasts.

### 1.4 Model of Initiating and non-Initiating forms

Since the -aka- form was used in the discourses to begin the speech and because as beginning verb it set the time reference, I decided to see if a model based on the concept of Initiating and non-initiating forms would be sufficiently descriptive of the phenomena.

The -aka- form was called initiating since it was used to begin a discourse and also could be used to begin a sentence within the discourse.



Those forms which could begin a sentence within the discourse but could not begin the discourse itself I named non-initiating. To give an example of how this model might work an extract from a recording is quoted:

A. (1) Twakoona ku Fumbo (2) buce (3) twabuka (4) twaunka.

B. Ilili?

A. (5) Nibwakaca.

Lit.

A. (1) We slept at Fumbo (2) that it might dawn (3) we got up (4) we set out.

B. When?

A. (5) When it dawned.

Trans.

A. We slept at Fumbo. When it dawned we got up and set out.

B. When?

A. When it dawned.

What is being noted here is the difference between the forms at nos. 2 and 5. This latter, (5) Nibwakaca - 'When it dawned' is used as a clarification for the benefit of B who had not heard what A had said in his first sentence. The tense form used in the Prehodiernal Past Temporal Tense 40. This tense form may be used to initiate a sentence or a discourse while the -e form which is used at no. 2 may not.

It was found possible to substitute the Temporal forms (Tenses 39 and 40) for the -e and -ka- -e form in all situations. The reverse is not however true. The -e and -ka- -e forms may only be substituted for the Temporal forms when the form occurred in the middle of a discourse and where there was reference something which had taken place before.

In this way the Temporals may be interpreted as initiating forms and the -e and -ka- -e forms as non-initiating. Further description of the -ka- -e forms along the lines of non-initiating led to clarification of its role within the discourse.

The sentence quoted above (from Jakopo Vundiyanga in 1.3.2) was examined again. When the -ka- -e form is used the listener is presumed to be able to fill in for himself certain information that is not given by the tense form. The particular information given is that the policeman had finished his leave and set out for Kalomo. Secondly and more importantly, the -ka- -e form leads the listener to expect further information, in this case what the policeman did when he got to Kalomo. It might be objected that all temporal forms lead one to expect further information. However, I refer back to the example given above where A. when wishing to clarify what he had said for the benefit of B. used the Temporal at no. 5. I have asked Tonga if it would have been acceptable for A. to use the -e form at no. 5 and was told that it would not have been so. The -e and -ka- -e forms are followed by some other form. To describe the use therefore of the -ka- -e and -e forms, I have coined the expression 'Bridging forms'. Their function is treated as that of joining up two parts of a narrative. In the case under consideration the -ka- -e form joins the part dealing with the Valley to that dealing with the Plateau. The 'bridging function will be dealt with later on (Chapter 5).

#### 1.4.1 Inadequacy of Initiating and Non-Initiating Forms as Model

The model of Initiating and Non-Initiating tense forms was helpful in giving a distinction between forms which could begin a discourse and those which could not be so used and was also helpful in giving a description of the function of the -ka- -e and -e forms. However, it was found inadequate when it came to the description of the relationship of the Non-initiating tense forms to the initiating ones. It was also deficient in that it did not allow for some tense forms such as the -a- past and the -la- present which could be used in other circumstances to initiate discourses. Finally, it did not cover the instances where the initiating ~~verb~~ form was not in fact the one which established the time reference as for example in the following which is taken from the speech of Paulina Mukansefwa.



Nobamusamika mulum'aako tomubwene pe.

Lit. When they are dressing husband yours you do not him see no.

Trans. While they are dressing your husband you do not see him.

In this instance, the time reference is taken from the underlined form 'tomubwene' - you do not see him (at a certain time). This verb form, i.e. the Present Perfective, Tense 50, established the time reference of the Present Temporal tense 39 in Nobamusamika and it is interpreted as 'while they are dressing your husband.'

### 1.5 Model of Independent and Dependent Forms

A second model was therefore set up to cover the relationship between what was in the last model called the initiating and non-initiating forms. This was based on the assumption that there is some form of dependence of the non-initiating forms on the initiating ones. The forms were therefore called Independent and Dependent to show the distinction between forms which could stand on their own and set up a time reference and those which depended on others for their time reference and perhaps for other things as well. As the -aka- past may begin discourses and sentences within discourses it is called Independent while the -e and nku- forms are called Dependent.

This brings up the question of the status of the utterances begun by dependent forms. Here a quotation from Waterhouse is useful. Having reminded his readers that it is recognised that in any language some structures are independent and some dependent, he goes on to say, 'Where sentence are concerned, however, the Bloomfield definition that 'Each sentence is an independent linguistic form not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form', (1933, p. 170) seems to have the status of a law of the Medes and the Persians. This has resulted in an atomistic preoccupation with units no larger than the sentence by scholars from Bloomfield all the way to the exponents of transform grammar. Recent analysis in some aboriginal languages, however, has made it obvious that not all sentences are independent (Loriot and Hollenbach, 1970), but that there



are, in fact, grammatical constructions which indicate that some sentences are dependent and therefore to be included in some larger linguistic form such as the paragraph or discourse.<sup>1</sup>

Given this distinction between independent and dependent sentences it is reasonable to say that certain utterances in Tonga may be considered as sentences even though the tense forms used in them could not fulfil the function of initiating a discourse. An example of an utterance which may be regarded as a sentence but which is begun by a form that is not used to begin a discourse is taken from the speech of Jakopo Vundiyanga (D.P.P. 1, section 1). This utterance has been quoted already but is mentioned again to illustrate the point being made here.

Ooyo mupulisa, musilikani oyo, (9) akasike ku Kalomo (10) kuti.

'Oh! nobasilikani . . nobami, mali ngotubeleka aya kwa Monze.'

Lit. That policeman that, askari that (9) that he might arrive to Kalomo to say, Oh! you askaris, you chiefs, the money for which we work it is going to Monze's place.'

Trans. But when that policeman had got to Kalomo he said, 'Fellow policemen the money for which we work is going to Monze.'

Neither the tense form at no. 9 nor that at no. 10 is used to begin a discourse. Nonetheless the utterance would seem to have the status of a dependent sentence within the discourse.

By analogy with the sentences within which they play an independent or dependent role the tense forms are named independent, or dependent.

#### 1.5.1 Inadequacy of Independent and Dependent Forms as Model

However, once again this model was considered inadequate since it did not allow for the operation of certain forms such as the -a- or -la- forms in both independent and dependent roles while the -e and nku- forms are

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<sup>1</sup>Waterhouse p.65.

always dependent. Secondly, it was insufficient in not allowing for the dependence of forms on forms that were themselves dependent. An example of this is found in the speech of Jakopo Vundiyanga (D.P.P. 1, section 1) where the -a- past is dependent on the -e form.

(3) Akacite lifwi, (4) aksike oko (5) waakwaamba kuti . . .

Lit. (3) That he might make leave (4) that he might arrive there (5) he finally said. . .

Trans. When he had gone on leave and when he had got there he eventually said. . .

Here the -a- past in no. 5 is dependent for its time reference intermediately on the -a- form at no. 4.

#### 1.6 Requirements of an adequate model

In saying that the models used so far, that of Privative Opposition, Initiating and Non-initiating forms and Independent and Dependent forms are inadequate, I do not mean that they are not helpful in the description or that they do not give any insight into the operation of the tense forms in Tonga. However, they do leave certain operations of the tense forms inadequately described. A further model was set up which would cover not only the facets dealt with by the models used so far but would also account for the areas left untouched.

This model will have to show the difference in time reference given by the model of privative opposition in simple sentences yet allow for the change in time reference of certain forms on following, for example, the -aka- past. Secondly, it will have to give an operational rule such as initiating and non-initiating and yet cover the examples where the operating or time setting verb form does not begin the sentence or discourse. It will have to show that there is a relationship between the initiating and non-initiating tense forms. Finally, it will have to allow for independent and dependent tense forms and yet cover examples where tense forms which in some circumstances are dependent are independent in other circumstances.



Because of these requirements it is necessary to use descriptive terminology which is not restricted to (a) the use of the tense forms in opposition to one another (b) the sequence of merely one tense form after another (c) the position of the tense form within the discourse or (d) the tense form's status.

#### 1.6.1 Control and subsidiarity as model

For these reasons, I set up the model of Control and Subsidiarity. By this is meant that certain tense forms fix the time reference of the discourse to be examined. For example Jakopo Vundiyanga (D.P.P. 1) begins his discourse with the -aka- past to describe the man going on leave. As long as he is talking about that person it may be presumed that all the tense forms refer to the same time. In this way the -aka- tense form controls the time reference of the tense forms which follow. Secondly, the controlling tense forms determine the aspect under which other tense forms are used within the passage, for example the -a- past following the -aka- past takes on the aspect of immediacy. Thirdly, the model of control and subsidiarity allows for the control by subsidiary forms of further subsidiary forms, as for example, in D.P.P. 1 (9) akasike ku Kalomo (10) kuti . . . - When he had arrived Kalomo he said . . . In this instance the form at (10), the ku-form is understood to have its subject from the subsidiary form, the -ka- -e form at (9). Fourthly, this model allows for the fact that certain tense forms may, in one discourse, be controlling while in another they are to be interpreted as subsidiary. An example of this is the -la- tense which has been seen in subsidiary function (1.3) while later it will be seen in controlling function (cf. Part II, Chapters 2 and 3).

The description of the Tonga verb demands a systematisation which will allow for the highly articulated tense structures of the language. Control and Subsidiarity implies something beyond independent and dependent and initiating and non-initiating forms. It also allows for the fact that it would be inadequate to assign two or more functions to each tense form since



that would not give the relationship between the two operations of the same tense form, e.g. it would not show that there was a relationship between the -a- past used in simple statements and the same form used after an -aka- past.

Having discarded the previous models, the model of Control and Subsidiarity was taken as my working hypothesis. I now return to the tense forms of Tonga in discourses dealing with past events, to determine its validity. The tense form which sets the time reference for these discourses, namely the -aka- past is taken to be the Controlling tense form and it is with the examination of this form that the next chapter is concerned.

## Chapter 2

### The -aka- past in Discourse

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the description of the -aka- past as it occurs in Tonga narrative discourse. The role of the form is examined in a set of discourses recorded in a number of places from varying groups of people.

Nine discourses are quoted so as to have an adequate sample for generalisation. These deal with a variety of topics and the speakers are of different age groups. In order to see how individual speakers might make their choice among the tense forms available to them some of the discourses are about the same events. For example two speakers talk about the arrest and imprisonment of Chief Monze Ncete and three others give descriptions of a Rain Festival they had attended.

The discourses are quoted in full at the end of Part I. They are numbered Discourse Prehodiernal Past 1, 2, 3 etc. The title is abbreviated to D.P.P. for ease of reference. The narrative forms are numbered in brackets and thus D.P.P.3 (2) denotes the second narrative form in the third discourse of the Prehodiernal Past.

#### 2.1 The role of the -aka- past in discourse

One of the functions of tense is to indicate the time at which an action or event takes place, be it past, present or future. In this chapter the -aka- tense form is being examined firstly to describe how it accomplishes its role of indicating that events are past and secondly whether there are any further roles that may be ascribed to the form within the discourse.

##### 2.1.1 Time reference of the -aka- past

The role of indicating past time reference is taken as a semantic function since it affects the meaning given to the tense form and this



function has been described as its time reference. The -aka- past refers to events which took place prior to the day of speech and one might expect that dealing with a sequence of events of long ago a series of -aka- past forms would occur. The example given from the book 'Nyoko Ngumwi' (cf. 1 ) did, in fact, have such a series. However, examination of spoken narrative showed that where a sequence of events was concerned the -aka- past was normally followed by a tense form other than the -aka- past (cf. 1. ). Forms such as the -a- or hodiernal past or the -la- present were seen to follow the -aka- past even though the events these latter forms referred to had to be interpreted as occurring within the time reference of the -aka- past. This setting of time reference by the -aka- past was called its Control since it changes the time reference of other tense forms. The pattern form spoken discourse would then seem to be that the time reference is set by the -aka- past and actions following in sequence would be covered by other tense forms.

#### 2.1.2 Shift of Attention

However, further examination of the discourses recorded showed that the aka- past does occur in the body of speech even though there has been no change of time reference. This same tense form, the -aka- past was also seen to occur in sequence where one would have been led to expect other forms indicating the close following of one action upon another. It is necessary therefore to ascribe further roles to the -aka- past if one is to describe adequately its occurrence in a discourse.

##### 2.1.2.1 Change of subject

An example of the use of the -aka- past within a discourse where there would not seem to be a need to re-establish the time reference is taken from the speech of Jakopo Vundiyanga, D.P.P.1.

Jakopo Vundiyanga, an old man from the Monze area is a recognised authority on the events which took place when Chief Monze Ncete was arrested and jailed by the British South Africa Police. His authority comes from the

fact that at the time of the arrest he was a young boy living near the chief's home. When the chief was sentenced to jail the police looked around for someone to cook for the prisoner and Jakopo was chosen. He, therefore, has a personal knowledge of the events which took place.

At points in his narrative Jakopo reverts to the -aka- past and it would not seem adequate to describe them in terms of re-establishing the time reference which must have been obvious to his listeners. For example, in dealing with the arrest of Ncete he says that the policemen came to take away the chief and that the people followed after. However, where one might have expected an -a- form for the people following we get.

(16) Bazoojata Monze kuya bamapulisa. (17) Bamujate Monze (18) bamutola.

(19) Bakatobela (20) kuti, 'Mwami wajatwa, (21) bakatobela.

Toonse (22) twakaunka, (23) twatobela.

Lit. They came to catch Monze there the policemen. (17) That they might him catch (18) they him took away. (19) They followed (20) to say, 'The Chief has been caught,' (21) they followed. (22) We all set out, (23) we followed.

Trans. The policemen came and arrested Monze. When they had arrested him they took him away. They followed, saying, 'The Chief has been arrested'. They all followed. We all set out and followed after.

It may be presumed that the people (19) followed immediately after the taking away (18) of the chief and one would have been led to expect, from what was said in Chapter 1, that the -a- form would be used at (19).

The first thing to be noted is that the 'b-' - 'they' of (19) refers, not to the policemen who had taken away the chief (18) but to the people of Monze's area. At first hearing the listener might have been puzzled as to who the 'they' of (19) were and it is only at (22) where 'toonse' - 'we all' comes into play that it would become clear that the policemen are not referred to. However, if we say that the reversion to the -aka- form is correlated at (19) with <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ change of subject then it would be obvious to the Tonga listener that the -aka- form here, even though it



has the same D.V.P.<sup>1</sup> as (18) refers to people other than the policemen.

Further support for this description is seen at (22) where the -aka- form is used again, though here the argument would have been more difficult to establish as there is a morphological change to 'tw-' - 'we' which gives independent evidence of the change of subject. Nonetheless the argument would seem to hold since at (23) the -a- past is used in 'twatobela' - 'we followed' which indicates that the people followed immediately after the policemen had taken away the Chief.

In the speech of Cletus Monze there is also support for this argument.

The present Chief Monze, Cletus, was also asked on another day to give us his account of the imprisonment of his predecessor. The circumstances were different in that on this occasion there was just the chief, a teacher trainee, Haantumbu Micelo (cf. D.P.P. 8) and myself. The chief, who had been an Agricultural Officer before he was elected chief, was well used to speaking in public. His flow of language is quite remarkable and in the long passage quoted he uses the -aka- past only twice. This is significant in that Jakopo in dealing with the same events uses that form six times. Even when interrupted by the teacher trainee looking for clarification on a point on a point the chief did not revert to the -aka- form but included the interruption in his flow of speech. He had a highly dramatic delivery and this he augmented by a constant use of quotation even though he could not have been quoting actual speech.

Cletus did not lay claim to first-hand knowledge of the events he is narrating and he referred us to Jakopo for details.

Ino mpampawaawa ono (19) balaamba, 'nee, tulakujata ino, tuyanda mal'.

(20) Kuti, 'Ngaaya', <sup>(21)</sup> Nkokuti, 'Pe, mali, ngaaya asyini musoke mubale tusanga otu amali. Aleendelana.'

H. Kasanga mmuntu?

C. Mukasanga mmuntu amali ngaabikka. Kasanga mmuntu amali.

Ino (22) nikwaamana boobo, Monze alya, (23) bakamujata, (24) bamutola ku

<sup>1</sup> cf Abbreviations, p.12.

Insert where indicated on p.52:

H. A little reed is a person?

C. In a little reed is a person and the money which he has put. A little reed is a person and money. Now (22) when there was finished thus, Monze there, (23) they seized him, (24) they took him to Kalomo in the prison (25) they bound him.



Kalomo muntolongo (25) baakum aanga.

Lit. Now it is the here now (19) they say 'No, we will arrest you now, we want the money'.

(20) to say, 'Here it is'. (21) It is the to say, 'No, the money here it is first let you try, let you count little reeds these and the money. They will be equal'.

cut from  
own page <sup>h</sup>  
Trans. So now they say, No, we're going to arrest you, we want the money'.

So he says, 'Here it is', That's what he says, 'Here's the money. Count it first, count the reeds and the money, you'll find they are equal'.

H. A reed equals a person?

C. For each reed there is a person and the money he had given. A reed equals a person and his money. Now when all that was finished, they arrested Monze, took him to Kalomo, to the jail and imprisoned him there.

The subject, understood, of the two forms at (20) and (21) is Monze while at (23) the subject is the policeman.

In the speech of Roda Cikuni, D.P.P.9, it is seen how this reversion to the -aka- past may occur more than once in succession.

Roda Cikuni was one of four teacher trainees whom I had taken to a Rain Festival in July 1972. In common with most of their contemporaries none of them, even Roda, who lived close to the shrine, had never been present at a Lwiindi or Rain Festival. This is held at the shrine of Monze Mukulu, the great rainmaker, beside which <sup>is</sup> the grave of Monze Ncete, i.e. the chief referred to by both Jakopo Vundiyanga and the present Chief Monze. In order to understand what was to take place we had gone to the chief's village several times before the day of the event and had asked people about the Festival. During the ceremony itself we recorded the songs and obtained commentaries on what was going on (cf. Discourse Current Activity 1 ).

Before we set out for the shrine I had told the trainees that I would want them to record their impressions the following day. What follows is an extract from Roda's account of what she had seen and participated in.

(8) Nobakamana waawo baka . . (9) bakaunka nkobakasiile bukoko batu . .  
 (10) batubweza tumwi tubiya (11) balatila alya amulyango ayindwa kunjila  
 mukati mwini kumalende awo awayakilwe kaanda, kwa Monze oyu Mukulu. (12)  
 Nobakamana kutila bukoko awo (13) twakali kubuzya 'Ino kayi, bukoko mbobatila  
 awa amulyango mbwaanzi?'

Bamwi bacembele (14) bakatupandulwida kuteeti, Oobu bukoko, ncobutililwa  
 awa amulyango mbwakuteeti Monze oyu waboola, waboola koonu mukaanda kakwe  
 kanywe bukoko obu . . .

Lit. (8) When they finished there they . . (9) they set out for where they  
 had left the beer, they them. . (10) they them lifted up some small pots  
 (11) they are pouring there at the gate which is gone through to enter  
 inside really to the shrine where was built the little house of Monze this  
 Mukulu. (12) When they had finished to pour the beer there (13) we were  
asking, 'Now but the beer how they pour here at the gate it is for what?'  
 Some old ladies (14) they to us explained to say that, 'This beer it is why  
 it is poured here at the gate it is of to say Monze this he having come, he  
 having come to sleep in little house his let him drink beer this . . .

Trans. When they had finished there they . . they went to where they had  
 left the beer they . . . they picked up some pots and poured beer there  
 at the gate where people go through to get into the central part of the  
 shrine where the hut of Monze Mukulu is built. When they finished pouring  
 beer we asked, 'But what's the beer they pour at the gate for?'  
 Some old ladies explained to us as follows, 'The reason the beer is poured  
 at the gate is so that Monze when he comes, when he comes to sleep in his  
 little house he may drink the beer . . .'

The first thing to note in examining the change of subject at (13) is  
 that the -akali ku- past has the same time reference as the -aka- past. From  
 the pattern of Roda's speech where she follows the -aka- past at (9) with the  
 -a- past at (10) one would have expected that the -ali ku- (corresponding  
 to the -a- past) would have been used at (13) since they asked the question



as soon as the pouring was finished. However, she uses the akali ku- past correlated with a change of subject, i.e. from 'b-' - 'they' in Nobakamana - 'when they had finished' to 'tw-' 'we' in 'twakali kubuzya' 'we asked'. Even though the old ladies replied immediately to the question the -aka- past is again used at (14) 'bakatupandulwida kuteeti' - 'they explained to us that . . .' and again this reversion to the -aka- form is described in terms of a shift of subject.

#### 2.1.2.2 Parenthesis

I have postulated above that the reversion to the -aka- form may be described in terms of a shift of attention from one subject or person to another on the part of the speaker. We now come to further examples of the -aka- form where again there is no apparent need to re-establish the time reference and where the speaker shifts his attention from his narrative to address his or her listeners directly. It is true, of course, that the narrative is directed at the listeners but as the speaker gets more involved in his story he follows its theme without direct reference to his listeners - they are, as it were, outside the world of the narrative. With some speakers, however, we find that they break off from the story to make a point to the listeners or to explain something to them. These are 'asides' or parentheses which, while connected to the narrative as a whole are outside the strict sequence of events. For example, in Maria Haakola we find three instances where she breaks off to say something directly to her listeners.

Maria Haakola, D.P.P.3 was an old lady who was being questioned on my behalf by her younger brother. She gives an account of how her mother was taken into slavery by the Matabele, and goes on to say what happened when her mother was living as a slave in Matabeleland. A very careful speaker, she was anxious that she get all the details in as her brother would break in if at any point she left something relevant out of the story. The first 'aside' or parenthesis occurs at (19).

(14) Kuyoosika oko (15) balalelwa, balalelwa. Mwana ngobakatolela  
(16) wafwa. Eno (17) balikkede, balikkede, balikkede. (18) Nkokukwatwa  
kuli taata aakatuzyala. (19) Twakazyalwa totatwe, basankwa bobile,  
ndemusimbe omwe.

Lit. (14) To go to arrive there (15) she is fostered, she is fostered. The  
child which she had brought with her (16) it died. Then (17) she is sitting,  
she is sitting, she is sitting. (18) It is the to be married to my father  
who bore us. (19) We were born we three, boys two, I a girl one.

TRans. When they arrived there she was under fosterage for a long time.  
The child she had brought with her died. So she sat and sat and sat.  
Eventually she was married to our father. There were three of us born to  
the marriage two boys and me the only girl. Then later on her brothers  
said, 'We don't like the way you were brought here as a captive in such  
a way as to cause you to be married to someone from We country, you'll  
be lost later on.'

The brothers are seen, not as objecting to the children, but to the  
marriage and this is taken to be the narrative sequence, the marriage and  
then the objection. The remark that the three children were born is an  
explanatory parenthesis expanding the relative 'aakatuzyala' - 'who bore us'.

Two further examples of the -aka- past used in this way are seen  
at (24) and (26).

(22) Bakabagusya munhanda eyo, (23) bakabakwatya kumu Tonga uwakokuno.  
(24) Twakakkal'iciindi cilamfu. (26) Nkokucita kuti taata oyu (26)  
wakabakwaty'imu Tonga aakokuno.

Lit. (22) They her took out of house that, (23) they her married to a Tonga  
of here. (24) We lived time long (25) It is the to do to say father  
this (26) he her married a Tonga of here.

Trans. They took her away from her husband and married her to a Tonga from  
the area. We lived there for a long time. And that is how our present  
father married a Tonga from round here. And eventually he brought us here



to Tonga country.

Again the reversions to the -aka- form are seen as parentheses outside the main stream of the narrative which goes from the new marriage and then the bringing back to Tonga land by the Mapanza born husband. The form at (24) is meant to indicate that they did not immediately return to Tonga land while the same form at (26) is explanatory of why this man born in Mapanza's chieftancy married a woman from the same area even though they were in slavery.

A similar use of parenthesis with the -aka- form is found in the speech of Paulina Mukansefwa, D.P.P.4.

Paulina Mukansefwa was probably the most experienced narrator of all those recorded. For a number of years she had acted as an informant to F.L. Browne who was carrying out investigations into Tonga customs. A widow, who had an extensive knowledge of the mores of her people, she wished to pass on this knowledge to her children and some of the best accounts that I possess of Tonga customs were recorded as Paulina spoke to her children. The passage here is a case in point. Paulina had been telling her children about funeral customs and she broke off to illustrate what she had been saying by giving an account of her husband's death. As may be seen she put her description in a framework of two -aka- forms and then she made an aside to us her listeners:

Ngamba kuti (1) wakafwa nsyeelendikke . . .

Ncengamba kuti (20) wakafwa amubili wangu. (21) Ndakayoowa.

Lit. I say that (1) he died me being on my own.

That is why I say (20) he died on my lap. (21) I became afraid.

Trans. That is why I say that he died on my lap. I was afraid.

The action of becoming afraid would seem to follow immediately on the death of her husband and yet Paulina who has used the -a- past for consecutive actions before here uses the -aka- past. Her employment of the form here is described in terms of a parenthesis addressed to her children and myself as it is not part of the narration of the death of her husband.

### 2.1.3 Dramatic Repetition

There are also sequences of -aka- forms where the same subject is repeated and so the description in terms of a shift of attention such as was seen above would not hold. An example of this is taken from the speech of Maria Haakola, D.P.P.3.

(22) Bakabagusya munhanda eyo, (23) bakabakwatya kumu Tonga uwakokuno.

Lit. They her took out of house that (23) they her married to a Tonga of here.

Trans. They took her away from her husband and married her to a Tonga from this area.

It must be presumed that they married her to a Mapanza Tonga immediately on taking her away from her other husband and one would have been led to expect from the pattern of Maria's speech that she would have used the -a- past at (23), Here it is suggested that the repetition of the -aka- past with the same subject in both cases is a stylistic device which is described in terms of Dramatic Repetition giving equal emphasis to each section denoted.

Similarly in the speech of Jakopo Vundiyanga, D.P.P.1.

(29) Bakaunka muopesi lebelebelebelebe. (30) Bakaakwütwa mazyina 'Ndaba'.

Lit. (29) the office pouring in one after the other. (3) They were called the names 'So and So'.

Trans They went into the office pouring in one after the other like grains of corn from a winnowing basket. Their names were called So and So'.

Here the repetition of the -aka- form at (30) cannot be described in terms of time reference only since this has been established previously, nor can it be described in terms of a change of subject since the subject of (30) is the same as that of (29). The repetition is described in terms of dramatic repetition.

It has been mentioned before that Jakopo had a first hand knowledge of the events which took place and that he was by now in the unique position of having been present at the arrest and imprisonment of Chief Monze Ncete. He, therefore, wanted his listeners to appreciate the drama in which he had taken part. To do this he gives, not only the facts, but he also highlights



parts of the narrative. One of the dramatic devices he uses is repetition of which we have an example here.<sup>1</sup> By the use of the repetition of the form he gives equal emphasis to the people going one after the other into the office and then calling of the names. It should be noted here that the -a-past would at first sight have appeared the more appropriate tense form for Jakopo to use at (30) since the roll call would have taken place as soon as they got into the office.

Another example of the same dramatic use of repetition is seen in the same speaker at (21) where he repeats the -aka- form with the verb -tobela. It might be queried that this is not a deliberate repetition but I suggest that it is in the light of the following sentence where he uses the -a-past in apparently similar circumstances after the -aka- past at (22).

The discourses so far discussed would seem to be fairly regular in their use of the -aka- past. This tense was used to set the time reference of the discourse and uses of this form within the discourse were described as either correlated with a shift of emphasis, i.e. a change of subject and in parentheses or in repetition of the same subject. However, there are two discourses, that of Venelanda, D.P.P. 6 and Mweetwa, D.P.P. 7 which do not fall into the pattern proposed above. Both of these people use the -aka- past in a way similar to that of the author of 'Nyoko Ngumwi' the book quoted in Chapter 1. In the section which follows an attempt is made to describe what may now be regarded as a variant use of this form.

## 2.2 Two individual variations from pattern

From what has been seen above it is unusual in spoken narrative, at least, to have a sequence of -aka- forms unless these can be described in

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<sup>1</sup> Another device of which Jakopo makes use is the ideophone, as 'ntentente' - denoting a crowd of people and 'lebelebelebelebe' which is used to describe grain falling from a winnowing basket and is employed to give the idea of the people going slowly into the office one after the other.

terms of change of subject or dramatic repetition. It would, however, be very difficult to justify these descriptions when treating the discourses of Mweetwa and Venelanda. Nor would it be possible to apply the description to the passage from 'Nyoko Ngumwi'. In the speech of Venelanda it would be virtually impossible to find a description to cover her apparent random choice of tense forms. In the case of Mweetwa a slightly different pattern emerges. He uses the -aka- form almost exclusively for the first 24 tense forms and then follows with a use of the tense forms such as has been outlined for the speakers dealt with in the last section.

### 2.2.1 Speaker 1 Mweetwa

Mweetwa was one of the teacher trainees who had been to the Rain Festival. He was a first year student who came from the Mapanza or western part of Tonga land.<sup>1</sup> Before he entered teacher training he had been a lay preacher and catechist. He was well used to speaking in public and yet despite this fact and the fact that he had been preparing to make this recording his pattern of speech resembles in some ways the speech of Venelanda. Between (1) and (20) he uses the prehodiernal past for narratives sixteen times and yet between (21) and (47) there are only eight instances of the same form. There would seem to be a notable difference between the first and second parts of his narrative.

In the first part of his narrative he uses a succession of -aka- forms where in the second part in somewhat similar circumstances he varies his choice of tenses.

Eno (10) nitwaabona<sup>2</sup>aswebo (11) twakaccilila. (12) Twakasika amunzi amwi, akanzi kamwi, (13) twaakkala<sup>2</sup>kkala.

Lit. Then (10) when we saw we too (11) we followed. (12) We arrived

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<sup>1</sup>Mweetwa came from a village some five miles distant from the village of Maria Haakola, D.P.P.3.

<sup>2</sup>Speakers frequently omit the -k- in Prehodiernal Past forms such as the Temporal in (10) or the indicative at (13). (10) could be nitwakabona and (13) could be twakaccilila.



at village one, at little village one (13) we sat down-sat down.<sup>1</sup>

Trans. So when we saw them we followed. We came to a village a small village and we sat down for a while.<sup>1</sup>

Here we have the indicative with the -aka- past in three consecutive instances where the same subject is used and where it would be difficult to describe the tenses as instances of dramatic repetition. However, in the latter part of the discourse we find:

Eelyo (35) nibakasika awo (36) bakalulama biyo nkoona awo nkubakeelede kuti babike tunongo oto. Ino aba banamunji boonse bakali kuuma inguluulu (37) bazinguluka igonde muli kaanda kal'aako kayeelwa kuti naa mwaswayila Mwami Monze.

Lit. Then (35) when they arrived there (36) they went straight indeed it is the same there where they ought to say they might put little pots these. Now all they people many they all who were beating yodels (37) they circled the shrine in which there is a little hut but it that it is ought to say if you visit Chief Monze.

Trans. Then when they arrived they went straight, to the spot where they were to put the beer pots. Then all those who were yodelling circled the shrine in which there is the little hut which is usual to find when one visits Monze.<sup>2</sup>

At (37) there is an instance of the -a- past used to indicate that the people put down their pots and immediately circled the shrine. In the earlier part of his discourse even though 'we' sat down (13) as soon as we came to

<sup>1</sup> The repetition of the stem of the verb as in this case has the effect of diminishing the force of the root. In this way the form here is translated as 'we sat down for a little while.'

<sup>2</sup> Mweetwa, coming as he did from the Mapanza area, knew little of the customs of the Monze people. He was under the impression that there were a number of shrines to honour Monze.

the village he used the -aka- past.

It might be argued that even at (27) and (28) Mweetwa continues to use the -aka- past as his sole indicative narrative form how ever, this instance may be interpreted in terms of a shift of interest since he moves from 'tw-' - 'we' at (27) to 'b-' 'they' at (28).

Eno (26) nitwakasika alya (27) twakasoleka kukkala pele (28) bakatwaambila kuti, 'Takukkalwa makkalwa-kalwa pe, nkutandabala maula kaayimwi'.

Now (26) when we arrived there (27) we tried to sit down but (28) they told us that 'There is not sat down the sittings-sittings no, it is to sit legs in front, the legs straight'.

Trans. When we arrived at the spot we tried to sit down but they told us, 'No ordinary sitting here, sit with your legs straight in front of you'.

Mweetwa then would seem to vary in his use of the -aka- form. In the early part he uses it to the virtual exclusion of all other forms and in the latter part he has a pattern of use similar to the other speakers who have been quoted. I would suggest that this difference between the first and second parts of his narrative is describable in terms of his unsureness in the early part of the course of events and so he reverts to the -aka- past in each case. He is trying to recall what happened 'yesterday' and so he uses the tense form which is appropriate to that day. Once, however, he has become involved in his story and he feels more confident he is able to exercise greater choice among the tense forms available to him. His awareness of the events in relation to the present diminishes and they are envisaged rather as a sequence of events in relation to each other.

#### 2.2.2 Speaker 2: Venelanda.

Venelanda Mulangu was a Form Three girl questioned on my behalf by my assistant, Mary Ann who was also a friend of Venelanda. Despite the fact that she had recorded many stories and taken part in a number of group discussions that had been recorded this was the first time that Venelanda had spoken in a specifically interview situation.



With the exception of 'mane'- 'that it might finish' - the subjunctive form used sometimes as a past temporal in past narrative but here interpreted as a temporal phrase Venelanda uses the -aka- past for all narrative tense forms up to and including (24). From then on there is a variety in her choice of tense forms though she still does not fall into the pattern used for the description of other speakers. An example of the variations that Venelanda uses is the following:

(4) Twakaakusika kuya mu 7(5) twakajana bantu bakali banji . .

Lit. (4) We finally arrived there at 7(5) we found people they were many . .

Trans. We finally got there at 7 o'clock and found that there was a great number of people.

At (5) the time word 7 o'clock is followed by an -aka- form. This may not be described in terms of a dramatic repetition for later on we find the following:

(35) naakasika a 4 o'clock (36) kasika kale Rail Car.

Lit. When it arrived at 4 o'clock (36) it arrived already the Rail car.

Trans. (36) When it got to 4 o'clock the rail car arrived.

Here, in apparently identical circumstances to those in which Venelanda uses the -aka- past after the time word she now uses the -a- past.

A similar inconsistency in the use of the tense forms is found after 'mane' - 'After that'.

(6) mane (7) twakalindila kusikila masiku.

Lit. (6) that it might end (7) we waited until (to arrive to) night.

Trans. After that we waited until nightfall.

Here 'mane' - 'after that' is followed by the -aka- past.

In the following example it is however followed by the -a- past.

(25) 'mane (26) twaya koo Cristine Sigande, kubapati bakwe ku Compound . .

Lit. (25) After that (26) we went to Cristine Sigande's place, to her big brother in the compound. . .

Trans. After that, we went to the home of Cristine Sigande to her big

brother's place in the compound.

Again Venelanda is inconsistent in her use of the tense forms after 'Mpamunya' - 'Immediately';

(35) naakasika a 4 o'clock (36) kasika kale Rail Car. Mpamunya twaatanta.

Here the word 'Mpamunya' - Immediately' is followed by the -aka- past.<sup>1</sup> But in the next example we see that Venelanda uses the -a- past after the same word.

Mpamunya (53) twaaunka, (54) twaakusika ku Lusaka kumazbua so.

M. Ciindinzi?

V. Muma six. Mpamunya twaseluka.

Lit. Immediately we set out, (54) we (distance) arrived to Lusaka, in the evening so.

M. Time which?

V. In the six. Immediately (55) we got down.

In (53) there is an example of 'mpamunya' - 'immediately' followed by the -aka- past while at (55) the same word is followed by the -a- past in 'twaseluka' - 'we got down'.

It is as may be seen difficult to assign any of the roles other than that of time reference to the speech of Venelanda. She would seem to use the -aka- past in such a way as to preclude description by either change of subject or dramatic repetition. It might be argued however, that with the constant question and answer she necessarily must move back to the -aka- past as a time reference. This nonetheless would be at variance with the use of Syaakanzaba D.P.P. 5. where in a similar question and answer format the -aka- past is used only once in 23 narrative forms.

What has been seen above does not however mean that Venelanda does not

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<sup>1</sup>The -aka- past very often leaves out the -k-.



use the tense forms at times in a way similar to the other speakers quoted so far since at one stage we find:

(59) Ndaalipede kkesin wangu, 'no taakaliibona pe. Mpamunya (61)

twayandaula, (62) twanjila mukati alimwi mucitima. (63) Lyatuzimina. 'No (64) twaseluka biyo.

Lit. (59) I had it given to cousin mine, now (60) he did not see it no.

Immediately (61) we looked for (62) we entered inside again in the train.

(63) It us disappeared on. Now (64) we got down just.

Trans. I had given it to my cousin, but he didn't know where it was. We looked for it immediately, We got back on the train but it was gone. So we got down again.

Here from (61) to (64) there is a sequence of -a- forms indicating that the actions denoted took place one after another in quick succession.

From what has been seen of Venelanda's use of the tense forms it might at first sight have seemed possible to make a distinction between the first part of the narrative when she used virtually all -aka- pasts, and the second part where she used the pattern common to the other speakers so far quoted. However, even in the second part it has been noted that Venelanda uses the -aka- past and the -a- past in what appear to be identical circumstances. Nonetheless, it is significant that it is only after (24) that she does use a variety of tense forms. I would suggest therefore, that while a clear pattern does not emerge there are grounds for saying that as she gets more involved in her story in the latter part she relies less and less on the -aka- form. I would interpret her almost invariable use of the -aka- form in the early part as an indication that she was nervously aware of the fact that she was narrating events which had taken place a long time previously and that only when she felt more at home did she feel free to choose more liberally among the tense forms available to her. Further evidence for this point of view may be seen in the speech of Mweetwa, the other person to be examined in this section.

What has been said of Mweeta and Venelanda is helpful in trying to find

a description for the written form we have encountered in the book 'Nyoko Ngumwi' where there is an unvarying sequence of -aka- forms for actions which follow closely upon one another.

### 2.3 The use of the -aka-past in written narrative

In both Mweetwa and Venelanda the preponderance of the -aka- past form used for narrative was noted, particularly in the early parts of their speech. It was suggested that as the speakers were very conscious of the events as past they used the -aka- past in nearly all instances. A similar description is proposed for the invariable use by the author of 'Nyoko Ngumwi' of the -aka- past in narrative. While writing about events which he was thinking of as past he would have narrated them as such to his readers. Comparison with another book written in a more flowing style will support this argument. The following quotation is taken from Kabuca Uleta Tunji by M.C. Mainza.<sup>1</sup>

Eco ciindi (1) twakamuka kuboola ku Nsondo, (2) twajana, (3) banjila kale bantu, walo ino mpamunya awo nkutwakamuka (4) watalika kuseke mucikolo. Alimwi inga mwiiyi (5) waleka kulumba (6) waide kulanga nguwe biya, elyo awalo (7) waumuna kaindi ako nkacilangide kulinguwe mwiiyi, mbwatalika kubala, (8) kufumbwa abbabbalisya kubala, walo (9) nkukwamuka kuseka.

Lit.

That time (1) we were late to come to Sunday (service) (2) we found (3) they have gone in already the people, but he now immediately as we were late (4) he began to laugh in the school. Again perhaps the teacher would (5) leave off to pray (6) he just to look at him indeed, then and he (7) he kept silent a little while there when he is still looking at him the teacher, as he began to read (8) to be any he having stammered to read, (9) but he is to burst out to laugh.

<sup>1</sup>Longmans, 1956. pp. 36-37.



Trans. That particular occasion we were late in getting to Sunday service. We found that the people had gone in already, but even though he was late he began to laugh in the classroom. The teacher would stop praying and just look at him and he would be silent for a while, just as long as the teacher was looking at him. But as soon as the teacher began to read and at the slightest stutter in his reading Maanya would burst out laughing.

In this passage there are nine narrative tense forms of which only the first is the -aka- past. The difference between this author's use of the tense forms and that of the author of 'Nyoko Ngumwi' is striking. In a similar passage the latter only uses the -aka- or -akali ku- past tense forms for narrative.

The passage quoted from Kabuca Uleta Tunji is similar to the passages of spoken narrative which have been quoted.<sup>1</sup> I would suggest that the author of 'Nyoko Ngumwi' was more aware that he was recording events as past than he was of the sequence of events and so he makes constant use of the -aka- past. I would also suggest that the fluency and range of choice exercised by the author of 'Kabuca Uleta Tunji' comes from his involvement in the events he is narrating, he is less aware of the events as past than he is of the events as occurring in sequence.

#### Summary of the Chapter

The first part of this chapter was concerned with finding a pattern in spoken narrative of the uses made of the -aka- past. This tense was seen first as setting a time reference for the rest of the discourse. It was described as moving the perspective of the speaker and listener from their 'now' to the 'now' of long ago. While it may appear a truism to say this, in that the role of the past tense forms in any language is described in terms of referring to events which took place prior to the speech which recounts them, it is necessary to note this in describing tense forms in Tonga in view of the control exercised by this tense form on tenses which follow

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that this book was written in the first person.

it. Within the discourses the -aka- past was seen as correlated with a shift of attention from one subject to another. It was also under the same heading described as being used in parentheses where the speaker broke off from his story to address his listeners directly. Thirdly, it was seen to be used as a stylistic device when repeated with the same subject to give equal emphasis to two statements.

In the second part of the chapter individual variations were examined. In the case of Venelanda it was difficult to discern any pattern of choice. Mweetwa while in the early part of his discourse seemed to be somewhat like Venelanda in the latter he adopted a pattern of choice similar to that of the speakers in the first part of the chapter.

The invariable use by both Venelanda and Mweetwa of the -aka- past in the early part of their discourses was described in terms of the awareness of the events as past rather than as in sequence. This description was applied to a comparison between the narrative quoted in Chapter 1, from 'Nyoko Ngumwi' and a similar passage from Kabuca Uleta Tunji where a variety of forms similar to the spoken narratives quoted in the first part of the chapter was found.

Having tried to establish the function of the -aka- past in discourse I now go on to the examination of the tense forms which follow it in narratives and which are, it is postulated, under its control as to time reference.



### Chapter 3

#### The hodiernal or -a- past in narrative

#### 3.0 Introduction

It has been postulated that the -aka- past is controlling in the discourses being examined. In order to see if this description is adequate I will now begin the examination of the forms that have been called subsidiary. The first of these to be investigated for subsidiary role is the hodiernal or -a- past.

##### 3.0.1 The -a- past in isolation

The -a- past is, perhaps, the most elusive form to categorise in Tonga since its use is so all pervading in everyday speech. It refers (a) as has been seen in Chapter 1 to events of the recent past:

Waunka - 'He went (within the past few hours).

(b) to events which though they have not yet taken place are regarded as accomplished in the mind of the speaker:

Ndaunka - Lit. I have gone. Trans. 'I am going now' or 'I'm off'.

(c) to past events with current relevance as for example in greetings:

Wapona <sup>lit.</sup> - Have you become well, Trans. Are you well.

Tonga does not distinguish between 'he went' and 'he has gone'. The -a- past which is used to refer to a past action (past tense) and a past action with current relevance (perfect<sup>1</sup>). In this way 'waunka' - 'he went' may also include the idea that 'he is still away'.

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<sup>1</sup>Tonga does have a perfective suffix which denotes a state, either transitory or permanent, cf. Appendix 3.

### 3.1 Subsidiary roles of the -a- past in discourse

In this chapter, however, we are dealing with the -a- past as it occurs in narratives of events which took place a long time ago. In such narratives the -a- past refers to events which took place at a time outside the time reference which has been established for it in isolation. It is here that the usefulness of Control and Subsidiarity as a descriptive device may be tested.

#### 3.1.1 Immediacy

##### 3.1.1.1 Immediacy in relation to the -aka- past

In the treatment of the prehodiernal past it was suggested that its semantic function was to relate the Time of Speech to the Time of the Event and it was pointed out that the event referred to took place a long time before speech. The -a- past used as an isolated form would relate the time of speech to an event which took place within the previous few hours. It is now necessary to provide a description of how the -a- form may be said to change its time reference when it is used in a narrative of events of long ago.

I take first an extract from Maria Haakola, D.D.P. 3.

Eno (3) bakababweza ba Matabele (4) babatola.

Lit. Then they her laid hands on the Matabele (4) they her took away.

Trans. Then the Matabele laid hands on her and took her away.

The woman's taking away by the Matabele occurred immediately after her capture, i.e. in the remote past and yet the tense form used has been described in terms which would only allow it to refer to events which took place a few hours prior to speech.

I suggest that the -a- past may be used in such a position and with a time reference different to that which it has in simple statements when it is in a relationship of subsidiarity to the prehodiernal past. The Time Reference of the -aka- past is described as controlling the time



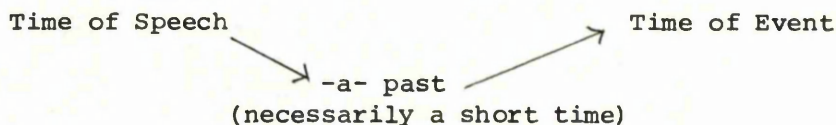
reference of the -a- past in situations such as that quoted above from Maria Haakola.

Two quotations from Cohen are helpful in giving clarification to the idea expressed in the last paragraph. 'Il est bien entendu qu'aucun système ne possède des formes distinctes pour toutes les idées que le verbe peut théoriquement représenter; c'est précisément le choix entre les idées exprimables qui définit le système verbal d'une langue donnée.'<sup>1</sup>

The first choice that Tonga makes for the -a- form has already been examined, i.e. its use in isolation; it is the further use of this form to express other ideas that we are concerned with here. Tonga in common with other languages does not have separate forms for every possible idea which may be communicated.

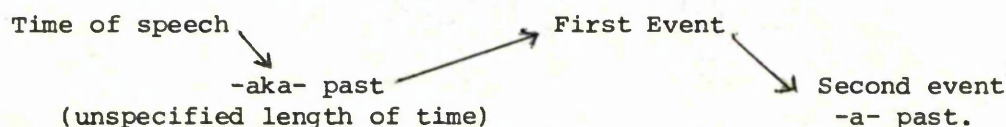
What is suggested is that it uses the same form in different circumstances to communicate two distinct concepts. The different circumstances in the extract quoted are that here the -a- form occurs, not in isolation, but after another tense form within a discourse. However, while the concept that the -a- form communicates in discourse is distinct to that which it expresses in isolation it is not unrelated. It is necessary therefore to see how its use in discourse may be described.

It has been said that the time reference of the -a- form is to actions which took place within a few hours preceding speech. This may be represented diagrammatically:



<sup>1</sup>It is taken for granted of course that no system has separate forms for all the ideas that the verb could, in theory, communicate. It is precisely the choice exercised among the possible ideas that defines the verbal system of a language. Cohen, 1924, p.2.

In the case under consideration, the -aka- form at (3) 'Bakababweza ba Matabele' has been described as setting up the controlling time reference and the -a- past as used in (4) babatola, is related to it in some way. It is suggested that when used in such positions as at (4), the -a- form is dependent for its time reference on the -aka- form at (3). This would add a further element to the diagram.



The specific time reference of the -a- past tense form is 'recentness'/'within the past few hours'/'just now' when it is used in isolation. When used after an -aka- form it is related to the time of speech through the -aka- form. In this description then we are concerned with the relationship between what is referred to by the -aka- and a- forms in sequence. The action denoted by the -a- form occurring in this position is taken to occur shortly after that denoted by the -aka- form.

If this description is accepted then the sentence above will be interpreted as, 'The Matabele laid hands on her and immediately took her off'.

The -a- form is thus related to the time of speech through the -aka- form. For further clarification Cohen is again helpful. Speaking of Arabic and Slav he says; 'Ce qui est commun dans les deux cas est que le verbe distingue dans le procès des caractères qui sont indépendents du sujet parlant. (Au contraire la notion de temps proprement dit a un caractère subjectif).<sup>1</sup>

Taking the sentence in brackets first, then the subjective characteristic

<sup>1</sup>What is common to both is that the verb distinguishes between things which are independent of the speaking subject. (On the contrary the notion of time properly speaking has a subjective character). Cohen, op. cit., p. 26.



of time is to relate the speaker to the event. This in narrative of long past events, is done by the -aka- form. The -a- form, which is independent of the speaking subject, cf. the first sentence in the quotation, is thus able to express aspects that do not depend on 'speaker's time'. In this case the aspect expressed is that of 'recentness' or 'immediacy' relative to the event denoted by the -aka- form.

The -a- past occurring in a narrative that is described as being controlled by the -aka- tense has thus a role that is distinct from its use as an isolated form. When it occurs in what has been described as a position of subsidiarity it loses its own time reference and takes on that of the discourse. At the same time it preserves the aspect of immediacy or recentness which is related to its use as an isolated form.

I describe the Tonga time reference scheme then as having two parameters. The first is that set up by the -aka- past which sets up the relationship of the speaker and listeners to that of the event and the second which relates further events to the speaker and listener through their relationship to the tense form denoting the first event.<sup>1</sup>

In this way the actions denoted by the -a- form are only related to the speaker and listener through the -aka- form.

The descriptive framework of control and subsidiarity has been set up on the example of the -a- form following on the -aka- form in past narratives. It is now necessary to see if the -a- form occurring after other tense forms within the discourse can also be interpreted in the same way and secondly whether it is used with the same aspect when it begins sentences within the discourse.

#### 3.1.1.2 Immediacy in relation to other tense forms.

In the first section of this chapter the -a- form was seen to have

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<sup>1</sup>This double time reference has, according to some philosophers, a psychological reality -cf. Appendix 2.

the aspect of immediacy relative to the action denoted by the -aka- form. In this section the -a- form will be examined as it occurs after other narrative forms within the discourse. The first example is taken from Jakopo Vundiyanga D.P.P.1

(16) Bazoojata Monze kuya bamapulisa. (17) Bamujate Monze, (18) bamutola.  
Lit. (16) They came to catch Monze there the policemen. (17) That they might him catch (18) they him took away.

Trans. The policemen came and arrested Monze. As soon as they had arrested him they took him away.

In this instance the -a- form follows on the subjunctive which as will be seen in Chapter 5 is interpreted as a past temporal within a discourse. The -a- form at (18) is used to indicate as the translation shows that 'as soon as they had arrested him they took him away'. A similar argument is adduced in the interpretation of the -a- form as it occurs in the speech of Maria Haakola, D.P.P.3.

Eno basike munzila mwaalumi abo bamuyasa sumo, bamatabele (7) wafwa.

Lit. Then (5) that they might arrive in the path, husband here (6) ~~they~~ him pierced with a spear, the Matabela (7) he died.

Trans. When they had arrived on the pathway, they, the Matabela ran a spear through her husband and he died (immediately).

In this instance as in the one quoted from Jakopo above the -a- past follows on the subjunctive used as a temporal. The Matabele speared the man as soon as they got on the path, probably because they did not want to have to guard the man on the long trek home. The -a- form at (6) is followed by another -a- form at (7) indicating that the wound they inflicted was sufficiently severe as to cause instant death. In this use of two -a- forms one after the other it is seen that when there is a sequence of actions following closely upon one another then a sequence of -a- forms is used to indicate this close proximity of one action to another.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted here that the subject of the verb at (6) 'b-' - 'they' is different to the subject of the verb at (7) 'w-' - 'he'. In the speech of Paulina Mukansefwa a close sequence of -a- forms with the same subject in each case is interpreted as a stylistic device - Dramatic Repetition



In both these examples it will be seen that the -a- form is interpreted in function of its position within the discourse that is, as has been described, under the control of the time reference form which determines the general reference of the discourse. It is therefore given the aspect of immediacy relative to the preceding action.

In the speech of Haantumbu Micelo, D.P.P.8 - the -a- form is seen occurring after the Prehodiernal Past Temporal, Tense 40.

(11) Nitwakaakusika (12) batalika bantu kwiimba nyimbo.

Lit. (11) When we finally arrived (12) they began the people to sing songs.

Trans. When we finally got there the people began to sing songs.

Here what the speaker is indicating is that as soon as the people had arrived at the grave of Monze Ncete who was buried near the shrine of Monze Mukulu, they began to sing.

This may be compared with the same speaker's previous sentence where he follows the same temporal with an -aka- past.

Ino (9) nitwakaunka katatu kuniini mucoonde ca Mwami ca niini ca Mwami Ncete (10) twakaakusika kuya.

Lit. When we set out the third time to where is it in the thicket of Chief of whom of Chief Ncete (10) we eventually got there.

Trans. Now on the third trip to Chief what's his name to Chief Ncete's shrine we got there eventually.

In this case there is no immediate connection between the setting out and the arrival at the grave.

This may be compared with an apparently similar occasion in the speech of Mweetwa where despite what one might expect the connection between the action denoted by the temporal and that which follows is not indicated. Eno (10) nitwaabona<sup>1</sup>aswebo (11) twakaccilila.

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<sup>1</sup>Nitwaabona is frequently used for nitwakabona. These forms are equivalent.

Lit. Now (10) when we saw we too (11) we followed.

Trans. So when we saw them we followed as well.

Mweetwa's invariable use of the -aka- past in the early part of his discourse has been noted in Chapter 2. and in this use of the -aka- past where an -a- past could have been used is a further indication of his variance from the normal pattern of speech.

In the speech of Roda Cikuni there is an instance of the -a- past in subsidiary function following on the -la- present tense form which is also in subsidiary function, cf. Chapter 4.

Ino makani ngindakabona anga kuti baya bantu bakali kweeta bukoko (1) aali kuboola (1a) kuziyila kooko nkobazyila. (2) Balaboola baya babwezyezye tunongo twabukoko (3) batutula awo mpotweelede kutulwa.

Lit. Now the affairs which I saw as if to say those people who were bringing the beer (1) they were coming (1a) to come from there where they come from. (2) They are coming those who were bearing little pots of beer (3) they them have put down there where they ought to be put down.

Trans. Now what I saw was as if those people who were carrying the beer were coming from their own homes. They came carrying pots of beer and put them down at the spot where they were to be deposited.

As will be postulated in the chapter on the -la- present this tense form is indeterminate as to completion of the action it refers to so it refers to the coming of the people as they straggled in to the shrine area. However, the use of the -a- past in subsidiarity at (3) indicates that as soon as they arrived at the spot where the beer was to be left they took it down off their heads and laid it on the ground.

In the same speaker, Roda Cikuni, we find the -a- past occurring after the Future Past Participle, Tense 34.

(4) Bamana (5) baakusangana kuli babaya (6) batiyaana, (7) bawolobozya kumwi.

Lit. They having finished, (5) they having (finally) joined to those (6) they ran (7) they yodelled the while.



Trans. Having finished with the beer and having joined up with the others, they ran round and while (they ran) they yodelled.

The use of the -a- past at (6) indicates that as soon as they had joined up with the others who were already circling the shrine they too began to run and yodel.

### 3.1.1.3 -a- subsidiary in initial sentence position

Up to this point we have been examining the -a- past in subsidiary function when its verb follows on another verb form in the same sentence. The aspect under which the -a- past was said to be viewed when in such a position was one of 'immediacy' relative to the action indicated by the preceding verb form. We now come to the investigation of the -a- past when it is the initiating verb in a sentence within discourse.

The first example is taken from Jakopo Vundiyanga D.P.P.1

(16) Bazoojata Monze kuya bamapulisa.

Lit. They came to take Monze there the police.

Trans. They came and arrested Monze.

The use of the -a- form indicates that there is a close connection between sending the Serjeant mentioned in the previous sentence and the coming of the police to arrest the chief. In this way the -a- form when beginning a sentence is seen to be under the control of the -aka- form which initiates the discourse and it is interpreted in the same way as those instances of the same form when they followed on another form within a sentence.

Another example which supports this argument is taken from the speech of Cletus Monze. In this case the -a- form follows on a restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive which has been interpreted as being under the control of the -la- form used as a 'historic present' (cf. Chapter 6. )

Ino (7) nkokwaambila manduna akwe, manduna akwe, nkokwaambila.

Ma. (8) babikka lunji-lunji mali, babikka lunji-lunji.

Lit. Now it is the to tell sub-chiefs his, sub-chiefs his.

Ma. (8) they put lot-lot money, they put lot-lot.

Trans. And so he tells his sub-chiefs. Goodness they gathered a vast quantity of money, a vast quantity.

Here the -a- past indicates that the people gathered the money as soon as they were told. It is seen as capable of indicating immediacy of action even though it follows on the 'historic present'. In a sense the use of the 'historic present' might be considered as a break from the thread of the narrative and one might have expected that the -aka- past would be used to resume, however, as can be seen the -a- past may be used to resume the narrative thread even though it is separated from the -aka- tense form at (3) 'kwaaboola bambi bamakuwa' - 'there came other Europeans'. A similar example from Jakopo Vundiyanga quoted from Jakopo Vundiyanga D.P.P. 1.

(1) Wakaunka muntu lifwi eli ndyomucita nobana. Waali mupulisa aku Kalomo, waali mupulisa kwa Kasempa oku. (2) Waakucita lifwi oku kubu We.

Lit. (1) He went a person leave this which you do you children. He was a policeman at Kalomo, he was a policeman at Kasempa's place there. (2) He (distance) made leave there in We country.

Trans. A man went on leave as you young people do. He was a policeman at Kalomo, at Kasempa's place. He went off there to We country.

Here the narrative has been broken off to make an aside or parenthesis, telling the listeners about the man who had gone on leave. When Jakopo resumes at (2) he uses the -a- form even though the verb used adds nothing but peripheral information and cannot be said to refer to an action which follows after the action denoted by the first verb. It would seem then that the -a- form as well as continuing the narrative may be used to resume the narrative when there has been a break.

### 3.1.2 Dramatic Repetition

Thus far in this chapter we have seen the -a- past in what has been described as subsidiary function within the discourse. The aspect under which it operated was said to be that of 'immediacy' relation to the action



denoted by the preceding verb form. There are, however, cases where a further element enters into the description of the -a- past when used in what has been called subsidiarity. In instances where two -a- pasts are in sequence when both have the same subject then the second of the -a- forms could be and often is substituted for by the infinitive preceded by 'a' - 'and'. The repetition of the -a- past when the a + infinitive might be used requires an added element of description beyond that of 'immediacy' which is fulfilled equally well by either. An example of this repetition of the -a- past when the A + infinitive might be used for the second is taken from the speech of Syaakanzaba, D.P.P.5.

Syaakanzaba was a middle-aged man who had spent a great part of his life working away from his home at Nabukuyu which is to the east of Monze. He had been in Lusaka brick making, at Cisamba farming and in the Zambesi valley road making. Unlike most Tonga he had not married until late in life and he had no children. He was a rather diffident man, and though pleased to talk about his life, he had to be prompted constantly by his nephew who was questioning him on my behalf. The example of the repetition of the -a- past occurs at (4).

S. Ono (3) twazya amunzi (4) twakkala alimwi.

Lit. S. Then (3) we came home (4) we lived (sat) again.

Trans. S. Then we came home and rested.

The -a- past as used at (4) might be substituted for by the a + infinitive as follows:

Ono (3) twazya amunzi (4) akukala alimwi.

The repetition of the -a- past in such cases is described as a stylistic device, namely dramatic repetition whereby each event is given equal emphasis and not the mere sequence of events noted as in the case of the use of the a + infinitive. Similar occurrences of the -aka- past in sequence have been seen in Chapter 1.

This argument is supported by a rather long series of -a- pasts

from the speech of Paulina Mukansefwa.

Nkabela (6) ndamulazika ansi, abulo, mutwe wakwe

(7) nduubikka

(8) Ndaabweza meenda munkapu

(9) ndatila kumeso.

(10) Wandilanga biya (10a) kandaambila kuti, 'Mbubo ino Paulina,  
'ndileke'. Nkabela

(11) uciya buvumba meso.

(12) Wafwa kufwida limwi (12a) kakunyina naakasinsimuka alimwi.

Lit.

And so (6) I him laid down, on the bed, head his,

(7) I it put

(8) I it picked up water in tin.

(9) I poured on eyes

(10) He me looked at indeed (10a) he me telling to say, 'It is alright  
now Paulina, let you me leave'.

And so (11) he is still going to cover the eyes.

(12) He died to die completely (12) there not being any when he got  
up again.

Trans. And so I laid him down on the bed and put his head on my lap. I took  
some water in a tin and poured it on his eyes. He looked at me and said,  
'It's alright Paulina, you can leave me be'. At the same time he kept  
covering his eyes. He then died (shortly afterwards) without ever having  
got up again.

The -a- pasts are put under one another in the Tonga to show how  
Paulina uses the repetition of the form as a stylistic device. The  
repetition of the form, giving equal emphasis to each action named builds up  
the tension which is finally broken by the root '-fw-' 'to die' in (12).  
Paulina could have joined (6) and (7) by the use of the a + infinitive to get:  
Nkabela (6) ndamulazika ansi abulo (7) akuubikka mutwe wakwe.



Lit. And so (6) I him laid down on the bed (7) and to it put head his.

The translation will be the same as for the sentence which occurs in the extract quoted.

Paulina could also have joined (8) and (9) to get:

(8) Ndaabweza meenda munkapu (9) akwaatila kumeso

Lit. (8) I it picked up water in tin (9) and to it pour on eyes.

Had Paulina used a + infinitive for (7) and (9) much of the build-up would have been lost, even though some Tonga would hold that it should be used, 'because the two actions go together'.<sup>1</sup>

I feel that this repetition of the same form, in this case the -a-tense form is analogous to the use of parallelism in poetry. The following quotation from Jakobson is applicable to Paulina's use of repetition.

Herder, 'the great advocate of parallelism' according to his own expression, resolutely attacked the afterward repeatedly enunciated bias that 'parallelism is monotonous and presents a perpetual tautology' and that 'if everything has to be said twice, the first saying must have been only half achieved'. Herder's succinct reply, 'Haben Sie noch nie <sup>ein</sup>enden Tanze gesehen?' followed by a comparison of Hebrew poetry with such a dance transfers grammatical parallelisms from the class of genetic debilities and their remedies to the proper category of purposive poetic devices. Or to quote another master and theoretician of poetic language, G.M. Hopkins, the artifice of poetry reduces itself to 'the principle of parallelism, equivalent entities confront one another by appearing in equivalent ~~positions~~ positions'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>I have been corrected by Tonga for doing what Paulina did in this passage and I was told that I should not repeat the same form with the same subject. There was however no criticism of Paulina's use here.

<sup>2</sup>Jakobson, 1962, p. 399.

The use by Paulina of the -a- past to set up a rhythm of narrative seems to fall within Hopkins' last phrase which speaks of equivalent entities confronting one another in equivalent positions.<sup>1</sup>

This would also seem to give an adequate description of Syaakanzaba's use of repetition which has already been quoted and also for two further examples of the same mode of speech which are found at (14) and (15) and at (22) and (23).

S. (12) Notwakajoka kooko (13) citucime (14) twazya amunzi (15) twazyikkukkala.  
Lit. (12) When we returned from there (13) that it might us bore (14) we came home (15) we came to live.

Trans. When we came back from there, when it had become boring we came home, we rested.

(19) Nitwakakkala amunzi (20) kabe kaindi (21) tucimwe (22) twaya mumugwagwa, (23) twayepa kugwalula masamu kuya ku Kayola.

Lit. (19) When we had lived at home (2) that there might be a little time (21) that we might get bored (22) we went in the road (23) we cleared to burn the big trees there at Kayola.

Trans. When we had lived at home for a while we got bored and so we went on the road works, we cleared the undergrowth preparatory to burning the big trees there at Kayola.

While the first member of these two couplets of the -a- past has the function of 'immediacy' the use of the same form for the second member is interpreted as being a dramatic repetition.

Having examined the uses of the -a- past in subsidiary function in the

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<sup>1</sup>The repetition here referred to is that of the tense form or structure. Tonga uses various types of repetition, not all of which have this dramatic function. (a) Repetition of structure which has just been dealt with. (b) Repetition of the entire item, e.g. 'beenda, beenda, beenda', 'they walked and walked and walked'. This is used to denote continuation of the action over a long period. (c) Repetition of the radical, e.g. 'kweend'eenda' - 'to walk aimlessly' from 'kweenda' - 'to walk'. This latter repetition has a pejorative connotation frequently.



discourse the aspect under which it operated as described as 'immediacy' relative to the action denoted by the previous form. Where two or more -a- forms were used in sequence with the same subject the repetition was said to be a stylistic device, namely dramatic repetition, giving equal emphasis to each action. We are left then with the use by Paulina Mukansefwa of this form who, because she uses the -a- form as a framework for her narrative requires a different description of her initial use of the -a- form.

### 3.2 The -a- past as controlling form in discourse

It has been said that Paulina's use of the -aka- form to begin and end her narration of the events leading up to the death might be termed a framework. This description is used because instead of beginning with the first of the series of events she states the conclusion first then goes on to give the series of events and rounds them off with a repetition of the same form as she used at the beginning. Thus her narration might legitimately be said to be framed between 'wakafwa' - 'he died' at (1) and the repetition of the same verb with the same form at (13). Within this framework she then recounts the events leading up to her husband's death as if they had occurred a few hours prior to speech. In this way the -a- form as it appears at (2) 'Ndabona' - 'I saw' may be said to be a controlling form for the other forms recounting the sequence of events immediately prior to the death of her husband. In treating this form as controlling however, it must be remembered that the general time control is exercised by the -aka- form which has informed the listeners that the death took place a long time previously.

The sequence of events that Paulina narrates must be noted as this sequence differs from the logical sequence. In Paulina's narrative the sequence is as follows:

(3)

(2) Ndabona - 'I saw (that) he had begun to pull out his eyes)

(5) I said that he should put his head on my lap.

The logical sequence is, however,

(3) watalika kugusya meso - he began to pull out his eyes.

(2) Ndabona - I saw ..

(5) Ndati . . . - I said that he should put his head on my lap.

The distinction between the logical and the narrated series of events is noted because at (2) Ndabona - 'I saw' we have an instance of what has been called a 'private verb'.<sup>1</sup> In such a verb the activity denoted is unobservable to onlookers and the speaker is treating himself as a commentator for the benefit of those who are unable to see what is going on. In English a 'private verb' in the past tense is followed by the past participle preceded by 'had' where in Tonga a 'private verb' in the past is followed by the -a- past.<sup>2</sup> This will account for the translation of the -a- past at (3).

(2) Ndabona (3) watalika kugusya meso

Lit. (2) I saw (3) he began to pull out eyes.

Trans. I saw that he had begun to tear at his eyes.

A similar example of the -a- past used after a private verb may be found in Jakopo Vundiyanga, D.P.P.1.

Aba We (26) twaakujana (27) basika kale ntentente banji-banji.

Lit. And the ba We (26) we found (27) they arrived already crowds many-many.

Trans. We found that the ba We had already arrived in droves.

We now return to the examination of the -a- form as controlling the forms which follow it. (5) Ndati - 'I said' is interpreted as having the function of 'immediacy' relative to the action denoted by the -a- form in (2) Ndabona.

<sup>1</sup> Palmer, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Tonga has a perfective suffix which is used in past to denote what is called the pluperfect'. In this instance one might have expected watalikide - he had begun, tense 53. A short discussion of the perfective suffix will be found in Appendix.3.



The -a- form as it occurs at (6) ndamulazika - 'I laid him down' is also interpreted in terms of immediacy relative to the preceding form at (5) Ndati - 'I said'. The -a- form as it appears from (6) to (9) has already been described above at 3.1.2 and so we are left with the forms at (10), (11) and (12).

(10) Wandilanga biya kandaambila kuti, 'Mbubo ino Paulina 'ndileke'.  
Nkabela (11) uciya buvumba<sup>1</sup> meso. (12) Wafwa kufwida limwi<sup>2</sup> kakunyina  
naakasinsimuka alimwi.

Lit. (10) He me looked at indeed he me telling to say, 'It is alright Paulina, let you me leave'. And so (11) he is still going to cover eyes.

(12) He died to die completely there not being when he got up again.

Trans. He looked at me saying, 'Alright Paulina you can leave me be'.

At the same time he kept covering his eyes. He then died (shortly after) without ever getting up again.

At (10) and (12) there is the -a- form interpreted in terms of immediacy relative to the preceding action. At (11) however there is an instance of the present tense weak, tense 8 used as a past tense form. In isolation this form is used to denote an action that is going on at the time of speech, for example:

Uya kuli? Where are you going? (said to someone who is obviously going somewhere).

Under the control of the -a- form this weak present is interpreted as 'he kept covering his eyes / he still covered his eyes'.

The -a- form then is seen as controlling the forms which follow it, in

<sup>1</sup>-ci- place before the root of a verb is translated as 'still'. The use of the prefix bu- in place of ku- (the normal prefix of the infinitive gives the idea of continuity to the action.

<sup>2</sup>The repetition of the root -fw- in both the verb forms gives the aspect of completeness to the action.

the case of the -a- form which follows the controlling a- form this is interpreted in terms of immediacy and the weak present is interpreted as a past with the aspect of indeterminacy.

A similar example of forms under the control of the -a- past under the general time reference of the -aka- form is found in D.P.P.6, Venelanda Mulangu.<sup>1</sup> At this point she is talking about her suitcase which she could not find when the train arrived at Lusaka. She goes back into the train to look for the case but cannot find it.

Mpamunya (61) twayandaula (62) twanjila mukati alimwi mucitima.

(63) Lyatuzimina. 'No (64) twaseluka biyo.

Lit. Immediately (61) we looked for (62) we entered inside again in the train. (63) It was us disappeared on. Now (64) we got down just.

Trans. We looked for it immediately. We got back on the train but it was gone. So we got down again.

The form at (64) is taken as controlling the following three instances of the -a- form which are seen as narrating events which followed on immediately from (64) twayandaula - 'we searched'.

### 3.3 Summary

In this chapter the -a- past has been examined. In isolation it was seen to refer (a) to events of the previous few hours (b) to events which were regarded as completed in the mind of the speaker though they had not yet taken place and (c) to events which, though past, had current relevance. In controlling function the -a- past was seen to set the time reference for the forms which followed. In subsidiary function the -a- past was described as giving the aspect of immediacy relative to the action or event denoted by the preceding form.

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<sup>1</sup>Chapter 2.2.2



There is then a relationship between the use of the form in isolation and control and its use in subsidiarity. In isolation and control it refers to an event which took place recently relative to the time of speech and in subsidiarity it refers to an event which took place recently (or immediately) relative to an event denoted by a preceding form.

## Chapter 4

### The -la- Tense in Past Narrative

#### 4.0 Introduction

The -la- tense form, tense 8, 'The Present Affirmative Strong', is similar to the -aka- and -a- pasts in that it is used in isolation in simple sentences. Its limited function as a controlling form will be described in Chapter 8. However, like the -a- tense in particular, it is found in a relationship of subsidiarity to a controlling verb and it is this context which is the relevant one for past narrative. Nonetheless an understanding of the function of the -la- form in subsidiary relation is greatly facilitated by a knowledge of its function as an isolated form. The investigation therefore begins with a brief survey of the occurrence of the tense in isolation (4.1). Thereafter the subsidiary function is isolated and discussed (4.2), and an attempt made to relate this to the function in isolation (4.3).

#### 4.1 The -la- tense in isolation

The -la- form in isolation may refer to (a) the time of speaking and (b) the general or 'timeless' present, and (c) the future, usually proximate.

##### 4.1.1 Time reference (a)

Aaba bana balalelwa kuli baacisya - These children are being reared by my uncle.

The -la- form here is used to indicate a progressive action in the present. It does not indicate the inception of the action nor does it imply a completion, in fact it is to be presumed that the action has been going on for some time and will continue into the future.



#### 4.1.2 Time reference (b)

Balatuma bapati - The elders send. (This is a constant complaint of young Tonga and refers to their being sent frequently on messages by older people.) Here the -la- form is used to indicate a non-progressive or habitual action. 'Balatuma bapati' - 'the elders send' does not imply that the elders are actually sending someone at the moment of speech but that they do it frequently.

Tonga then does not make the distinction that occurs in English between progressive and non-progressive. For example, one could say,

Ibana balalelwa kuli baacisyanyina - Children are reared by their uncles.

In this case the form which has been used above in (a) to refer to a progressive action is used to indicate a non-progressive one.

#### 4.1.3 Time reference (c)

Balajikanzi baama? What will mother cook?

Here the -la- form is used to denote an action which is expected to take place shortly. In the case quoted here the child who spoke was asking her sister what their mother intended to cook when she came back from the store.

#### 4.1.4 Historic present

In certain, highly dramatic types of discourse, the -la- tense is also used as 'historic present'. In this passage Monze is quoting from the Europeans who were talking to Monze Ncete:

'Luwanka wakaunka kuti akabone Queen Victoria. Luwanika waamba kuti, "Mebo nyika njiyangu yoonse".

Ino (5) ulaamba, 'Aha, Luwanika tulaandene. Ino Luwanika ncaboola kulindime kuti tuzyikukambe ncinzi?'

#### Literal Translation.

'Luwanka he went that he might see Queen Victoria. Luwanika he spoke to say,

'Me, the land it is mine it all.'

Now (5) he is saying, 'Aha, Luwanika we are different. Now Luwanika shy he comes to clap here it is why?'

Translation.

'Luwanika went to see the Queen and he said that the whole country belongs to him.'

Now Monze says, 'But Luwanika and I are different. Why does Luwanika come here to pray?

Cletus's use of the -la- present has been interpreted as a 'historic present', i.e., that it narrates the action as if it were present.

The reasons for this interpretation are as follows. It has been noted that Cletus had a highly dramatic form of deliver and he makes great- use of direct quotation. He precedes each use of the -la- form with a time marking word such as 'ino' - 'now' or 'ono' - 'then'. As will be seen in the discourses on Current Activity (Chapter 7) these words precede the -la- form when it is used to indicate that an action is taking place at the time of speech. Cletus uses the -la- form in isolation in three of the four occasions found in his discourse; he does not, except at no. 10, precede it with any other tense form. Finally the interpretation of the -la- form as a historic present would seem consonant with the general tone of his discourse.

It is necessary now to justify the interpretation of (10) as a 'historic present'.

Ino Luwanika (9) waakumvwa (10) ulaamba, 'We, walo Monze watalika kutelesya alimwi'.

Literal Translation.

So when Luwanika heard (10) he says...

The -la- form here is preceded by the Future Past Participle which indicates that one action takes place prior to another. This does not preclude the interpretation of the -la- form as a 'historic



present', since the hearing takes place prior to the reply. It could of course be interpreted as 'he said' since the form at (8) Babikka lunji lunji mali - 'they put a great deal of money' is in the -a- past. However, since it is possible to interpret (10) ulaamba as a historic present I have done so as this would be consistent with the rest of the discourse. This interpretation of the -la- form as a 'historic present' will affect the interpretation later of such forms as the Infinitive and the restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive (cf. Chapter 6).

It is not maintained that such occurrences are examples of subsidiarity in the sense proposed in this study.<sup>1</sup> The 'historic present' is in any case a common enough feature of so many languages as to offer little of interest.

#### 4.2 The -la- tense in subsidiary function

##### 4.2.1 Indeterminacy

The first example of this form with past reference is taken from the speech of Roda Cikuni D.P.P.9. Before exemplifying it, however, it is useful to explain something of the circumstances. It has already been said that on the Sunday we had gone to the 'Lwiindi' or Rain Festival. At one point in the ceremony I noticed the people picking up the pots of beer that they had left near the gate into the shrine of Monze Mukulu. Having picked up the pots they carefully dribble out a little of the beer onto the ground and while they were doing it someone shouted 'Balatila bukoko' - 'They are pouring the beer' and the people who were at the grave of Monze Ncete came running over.

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<sup>1</sup> Although one might argue that the phenomenon is not entirely unlike, there is, for instance, often a past tense (of the kind which can control) in the vicinity.

On the following Monday I asked the trainees who had been with me to narrate what they had seen and I was surprised to hear Roda use the same tense form to refer to an action which had taken place the previous day. She said,

(9) bakaunka nkobakasiile bukoko (10) batubweza tumwi tuyiya

(11) balatila alya amulyango

Literal Translation.

(9) They went to where they had left the beer (10) they then took up some small pots (11) they are pouring there at the gate.

Translation.

They went to where they had left the beer. They took up some of the small pots and poured beer at the gate there.

Here the -la- tense form is used to refer to an action which took place the previous day. It is now, however, necessary to establish that it functions as a past tense form when it appears in past narrative in such situations as that exemplified above.

It is necessary to emphasise firstly that Tonga possesses a full range of 'participial' forms (cf. Morphology section, tenses 32-37); kabatila - 'they pouring'; the 'present' participle could occur in such a context with past time reference, in the manner common to participles. Secondly, there are devices in Tonga for expression 'and ----ed', with past 'consecutive' meaning; since, however, these are themselves examples of special subsidiary function, they are not discussed here.

The fact is that neither construction was used here and the actual form was one which can and does function as a main oo indicative sense. This suggests that there is something in the meaning of the -la- form in subsidiarity which is not adequately expressed by either the present participle or the consecutive construction.



If the present participle 'kabatila' or the consecutive construction were substituted for 'balatila' - 'they are pouring (they poured) the meaning of the sentence is changed. The pouring of the beer was not only consecutive to the picking up of the pots but it was done in a particular way which would not be accounted for by the consecutive construction. In the case of the consecutive construction the people would be understood to have poured out all the beer. In fact they only poured out a little from each pot and it is this partial pouring that the -la- form indicates when used in subsidiarity. A clearer understanding of the aspect under which the -la- form is here used may be obtained if we compare the use of that form here with another possible form namely the -a- past. If the -a- past were used we would get (11) batila - 'they poured' and while the translation would remain the same the meaning of the Tonga is changed and this would demand a difference in interpretation.

In using the -a- form the people are understood to have poured out all the beer. As has been pointed out, they only poured out a small quantity since this action was part of a rite whereby part of the beer was offered to Monze (cf. the explanation given by the old ladies further on) and the rest- was drunk by the participants in the festival. The -la- form takes this partial pouring into account and so the interpretation of this sentence is, 'They went to where they had left the beer, picked up the pots and poured some of the beer.'

This is relatable to the use of the form in isolation where what was said was, 'They are pouring the beer' indicating that an action was going on at the time of speech and excluding inception or completion of that action. There is then in the use of this form in subsidiarity an aspect of indeterminacy as to beginning or ending. The function of this form this form when used as a past tense is called indeterminacy.

A further example in support of this argument is taken from the speech of Haantumbu Micelo, D.P.P.9. At this point in his narrative he is talking about what happened at the grave of Monze Ncete as the first speaker, Mweetwa had spoken of what had happened at the grave of Monze Mukulu. Micelo tells how the people left the grave of Mukulu and went over to that of Monze Ncete. When they had arrived there they sat down and began to sing and as they sang some of the women got up from time to time to whirl around and dance.

(11) Nitwaakusika (12) batalika bantu kwiimba nyimbo. (13)

Batalika kwiimba nyimbo liya bamwi bamakaintu mukati (14)

balazinguluka (15) balazyana.

Literal Translation.

(11) When we finally arrived (12) they began the people to sing songs. (13) They having begun the people to sing songs then they some women inside (14) they are circling (15) they are dancing.

Translation.

When we did get there the people began to sing songs. When they had begun to sing the songs some of the women went into the middle and began to dance and whirl around.

Ino (23) umwi mudaala (24) wakazyana (25) wakaimba lwiimbo  
ndubakali kwiimba ciindi naa baunka kwa Monze kuya kukomba.

Literal Translation.

Now (23) there is one old man ... (24) he danced (25) he sang  
the song which they used to sing the time if they went to Monze's  
place to go to pray.

Translation.

Then there was one old man he danced and sang the song which people  
sing whenever they go to Monze's place to pray.

What is referred to here by the use of the -aka- past at (24) and



(25) is the fact that the old man sang one particular song and danced the particular dance which went with that song. In this song, as Haantumbu explains the man hid under the trees to simulate hiding from lightning and he rolled on his back to honour Monze. This was a different kind of dance to the others which the women were doing. If the speaker had used the -la- form here he would have been saying that the old man sang and danced like the others and not that he performed a special dance with a special meaning.

The -la- form then in subsidiary function has been described in terms of indeterminacy. It prescind from the aspect of completeness or singularity. It remains now to see how the use of the form in subsidiarity may be related to its use in isolation and in control.

#### 4.3 Summary

In this chapter I have given examples of the -la- form in isolation and in its use in subsidiarity.

In isolation it was seen used both for progressive and non-progressive actions as well as for proximately future actions. In subsidiary position it was described as functioning as a past tense form, but its use as such a form was aspectually related to its use in isolation. The aspect ascribed to it was one of indeterminacy as to inception or completion of the action it denotes. In this chapter at 4.3.1. an instance was given showing the use of this form in isolation, 'balatila'- 'they are pouring'. This remark was made by the onlookers when the people were carrying out the ritual pouring of the beer. This use of the form is called the progressive in that it indicates that the action is going on at the time of speech; it does not indicate either beginning or ending. When this same form was used in subsidiary function in the speech of Roda Chikuni, cf. 4.2.1 it was described as having the aspect of indeterminacy, i.e., that even though the action was, in fact, completed the form prescind from speaking of the

action as a completed one. There is then a relationship between the -la- form used in isolation and the function it has in subsidiary position.



## Chapter 5

### The Subjunctive or -e and ka- -e Tenses

#### in Past Narrative

#### 5.0 Introduction

With the -e tense, sometimes called the subjunctive, we come to a form which is somewhat different in character from those considered up to now. The -aka-, -a- and -la- tenses are all found in isolation and in controlling position and the -a- and the -la- tenses are also found in a relation of subsidiarity. The -e form does, it is true occur in isolation, though rather more rarely than the others, but the bulk of its occurrences are as non-indicative, syntactically unstable<sup>1</sup> form, and it cannot be said to occur in a controlling position for the discourse. As was pointed out in Chapter 1 dependency and subsidiarity are not identical concepts.<sup>2</sup>

The interest of the -e form lies in the fact that its meaning and function as a dependent tense but not in a relation of subsidiarity are radically different from those attached to its occurrence in such a relation.

#### 5.1 Function in isolation: hortative.

The -e form in isolation is found as follows:

'Atweende'<sup>3</sup> - 'Let us go', Tense 3, hortative.

This form is used to express a wish or polite command.

<sup>1</sup> Guthrie's terminology, cf. Chapter 1.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., as defined, Chapter 1 for the purposes of the present study.

<sup>3</sup> The morphology of this form is given as A-DvP-R-e. However, in speech the 'A' is frequently left out and one hears Tweende - 'let's go' and Tubone - 'Let's see.'

## 5.2 Dependent functions

### 5.2.1 Subjunctive as wish or command.

As a dependent form the subjunctive may be exemplified from the speech of Paulina Mukansefwa. D.P.P.4.

(5) Ndati abikke mutwe wakwe amaulu - I said that he should put his head on my lap.

Here the form is used to express a wish or command. In dependent function the subjunctive frequently follows on some form of the verb -ti- 'to say'.

### 5.2.2 The subjunctive as conditional.

Kuti iwe mvula ulaugwa. If it rains you will get wet.

Here the subjunctive is used after 'kuti' 'to say' as a conditional.<sup>1</sup>

## 5.3 The subjunctive as subsidiary form.

In past narratives, however, the subjunctive would seem to have a role different to those which have been ascribed to it in isolation and in dependent clauses. For example in the speech of Maria Haakola, D.P.P.3, we find:

(1) Ino baama inkondo yakabajana ku Mbese oku kuba Maala.

(2) Ibajane ku Mbese wakali kujisi mwana uunyonka umusankwa.

### Literal Translation.

(1) Now my mother the war it her found at Mbese there to the Maala.

(2) That it might her find she was to have a child who sucks a boy.

### Translation.

Now the war caught up with my mother at Mbese there among the Maala. When it caught up with her she had a child at the breast, a boy.

<sup>1</sup>

This is not the only conditional in Tonga. Other forms used in conditional clauses will be seen in Chapter 7 and the full range of conditional forms may be seen in the morphology section.



In this case the -e form or subjunctive is interpreted as a past temporal, 'when it caught up with her'. This interpretation is very different to that given to the form when used in isolation or as a dependent form and yet it is demanded by the position in which it is found in the discourse. It is this latter factor, namely, position within the discourse that enables and demands the interpretation as a temporal.

This does not mean that the subjunctive is substitutable for a temporal in all cases. It may only be interpreted as having a temporal role in certain very restricted circumstances where it is in what has been described as a subsidiary role vis-a-vis a controlling tense form.

#### 5.3.1 Temporal bridging of the subjunctive.

Tonga does have a range of temporal tense forms and these are enumerated in the morphology section, tenses 39, 40 and 41.

Venelanda, D.P.P.6. begins her discourse with tense 41, the prehodiernal past temporal:

(2) Nitwakajala cikolo (3) ndakaakutantila ku Monze citima  
ncobati ka Rail Car.

#### Literal Translation.

(2) When we closed the school (3) I (distance) climbed up at  
Monze the train which they call the Rail Car.

#### Translation.

When we closed the school I got on the Rail Car at Monze.

This example from Venelanda was quoted because it brings out the first point of difference between the Temporal tense forms and the subjunctive used as a past temporal.

In this situation it would not be acceptable to substitute the subjunctive for the temporal if one wished to give the meaning inherent in a temporal form. For example,

\*Tujale cikolo ndakaakutantila ku Monze citima....

would not be acceptable. Used in such a position (that is at the beginning of a discourse) the subjunctive would have to be interpreted as either a wish or a possibility, - 'let us close the school' or 'that we may close the school'. This would not be collocatable with the tense form at (3) the -aka- past.

The -e form does not then act as a temporal when it occurs at the beginning of a discourse. It is only within a discourse that it may be so interpreted.

The second point about the subjunctive used as a past temporal is that while it may begin a sentence within a discourse, as was seen in the quotation from Maria above, it may not end a sentence.

Again, a quotation is given from Venelanda:

(49) Nindakasondela anze (50) ndamamubona mweenzuma (51)  
naakaseluka.

#### Literal Translation.

(49) When I peered outside (50) I saw her my friend (51) when  
she got down.

#### Translation.

When I looked out I saw my friend as she got down.

In this sentence there is a temporal tense form at (49) and at (51). Now while the -e form might be substituted for the temporal at (49) (which is at the beginning of a sentence within a discourse) it could not be substituted for the temporal at (51) naakaseluka - 'when she got down' which ends the sentence. One could have either the sentence as Venelanda said it or:

'Nsondele anze ndakamubona mweenzuma naakaseluka'

But not, Nindakasondela anze (50) ndakamubona mweenzuma \*aseluke.

The third distinction between the temporals and the -e form used



as a temporal is that while the temporal may be used as a single word sentence in certain circumstances the -e form may not be so used. You could have,

Mwakamujana lili? When did you find him?

Nitaakasika. When we arrived.

But not, Mwakamujana lili? When did you find him?

\*Tusike.

A subjunctive in such a position would have to be interpreted as 'Let us arrive' or 'that we might arrive'.

The role of the subjunctive as a past temporal tense form depends, therefore, not on the form itself but on the relation between the form and the discourse. It acquires its meaning as a past temporal from its relationship to what has gone before and what comes after. For this reason it has been named a 'bridging form'. This name has been coined to describe the syntactic instability of the form which depends on a prior sentence in the discourse on the one hand and on a completing indicative form within its own sentence on the other.

It might, however, be argued that the subjunctive or -e form in past narrative is purely a temporal phrase. If this were so then such a phrase would be substitutable for the -e form in the example quoted above from Maria Haakola and we would have:

Ciindi eco wakali kujisi umwana ujnyonka umusankwa.

At that time she had a child at the breast, a boy.

Here, 'Ciindi eco' 'At that time' has been substituted for 'ibajane'. While it is true that this is an acceptable sentence it does not have the same meaning as the one Maria used. It is understood that when the war caught up with her she was accompanied by the child, while from the sentence substituted above this is not made clear, all that is stated in the sentence with the temporal phrase is that at the time she was captured she had a child, it is

not known whether the child was with her at the time or not.

This confusion could arise from the fact that in the example of the subjunctive as temporal as quoted above the root of the verb in the subjunctive and in the preceding indicative is the same. In the following example from the same speaker it is clear that a temporal phrase could not be substituted.

Eno (3) bakababweza ba Matabele (4) babatola.

Eno (5) basike munzila mwaalumi abo (6) bamuyasa sumo ba matabele (7) wafwa.

#### Literal Translation.

Now (3) they her laid hands on the Matabele (4) and took her off.

Then (5) that they might arrive in the path husband hers they him pierced with a spear (7) he died.

#### Translation.

The Matabele captured her and took her off. When they arrived on the path the Matabele ran a spear through her husband and he died.

Here if a temporal phrase were substituted for 'basike' part of the narrative would be left out. It has been said in Chapter 1 that a narrative is a recital of a series or sequence of events etc. Here the -e form in 'basike' does denote an event, namely their arrival on the path, and this event is one of the series or sequence of events that Maria is narrating. Had 'basike' been left out it would be presumed that the mother's husband had been killed either at the place the mother was captured or at some other unknown spot.

An example in support of the argument that the temporal phrase may not be substituted for the -e form is taken from the speech of Syaakanzaba, D.P.P.5. Here he is explaining why he and his fellow workers left Lusaka and went home.

(12) Notwakajoka kooko (13) citucime (14) twazya amunzi (15)



twazyi kukkala.

Literal Translation.

(12) When we returned from there (13) <sup>might</sup> that it bore us (14)  
we came home (15) we came to live.

Translation.

When we came back from there, when it had become boring, we came home to rest.

Here the -e form at (13) gives the reason why the man came home and it would not be possible to substitute a temporal phrase which would give the same meaning as the sentence above. However, it should be noted that the function of 'bridging' is not obviated by the use of the form to give information or to act as part of the narrative - it still keeps its role of joining what has gone before with what is to come later.

5.3.1.1 The remote subjunctive as a past temporal.

Thus far the examples seen have been of the Subjunctive tense 4, used as a past temporal. In the speech of Jakopo Vundianga, however, there are three examples of the Remote subjunctive which may be exemplified in isolation as follows:

Ukasike kabotu - 'May you arrive well' (safe journey).

This is said to someone who is leaving after a visit or to someone going on a journey.

The same form in a dependent clause appears as follows:

Kuti akaboole tuya kumubona. - If he should come we will see him.

However, as this form occurs in the past narrative of Jakopo it demands interpretation as a past temporal.

(2) Waakucita lifwi oku kubu We. (3) Akacite lifwi, (4) akasike oko, (5) waakwaamba kuti, 'Ha, ani mal'aaya mutolayi?'

Literal Translation.

(2) He made leave there in We country. (3) that he might make leave (4) that he might arrive there (5) he said that, 'But now money this you are taking where?'

Translation.

He went off there on leave to We country. When he had gone on leave and when he had got there he said after a time, 'Where are you taking that money?'

In this example the Remote Subjunctive functions as past temporals in the two cases where it occurs namely at (3) and at (4). It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments which were brought forward to support the interpretation of the form as a temporal since those which were adduced in support of the subjunctive or -e form are valid here.

5.3.2 Extensions of the bridging function.

With certain verb roots the -e form is described as having a purely bridging function. The verbs with which it occurs do not add to the narrative sequence. An example of this is taken from Maria Haakola. She has been speaking of how her mother was taken into slavery and how after a time she was married again, and bore three children.

(18) Nkokukwatwa kuli taata aakatuzyala. (19) Twakazyalwa totatwe basankwa bobile, ndemusimbi omwe. Eno (20) kumane mpawo babulula babo (21) bakaamba kuti, 'Pe, tatuciyandi mbookaletwa nkondo kuteeti lino ukwatwe kumuntu uzwa kubu W'ooku, uyoosweeka kale.

Literal Translation.

(18) It is the to be married to father who bore us. (19) We were born <sup>t</sup>three, boys two, I a girl one. Then (20) that it might finish there brothers here (21) the spoke to say, No, we do not



it like how you were brought by war, so that you you may be married to a person who comes from We country there, you will be lost later on.'

Translation.

And eventually she was married to the man who was to be our father. There was three of us born, two boys and me the only girl. Then after that her brothers said, 'We don't like the way you were brought as a captive in such a way as to cause you to be married to someone from We country, you'll be lost later on.'

The root -man- 'to finish' as it occurs at (20) does not refer to the end or finish or anything but it used as a lexically empty core <sup>f</sup>for the -e form which bridges between the details concerning the marriage and what the woman's brothers said and did.

A similar example may be taken from the speech of Syaakanzaba where at (7) he uses 'tumane' -

Literal Translation.

'that we might finish.'

Translation.

After that

Syaakanzaba, any more than Maria Haakola, is not referring to the end of anything; he is merely bridging between the men's stay at home and their departure for Lusaka.

It will be noted that both Maria and Syaakanzaba used  $D^{\circ}VP^{\circ}s$  with the -e form and that both of them used this form with other verbs than -man- 'to finish'. However, with younger people I noticed that their use of this form was almost entirely restricted to the 'purely bridging function' i.e., with lexically empty verbs such as -man- and that they did not prefix a  $D^{\circ}VP^{\circ}$ .

Venelanda is taken as typical of the way the younger people operate this form:

(6) 'Mane (7) twakalindila kusikila masiku (8) 'Mane masik<sup>u</sup><sub>a</sub>  
 nicak<sup>a</sup>sika citima (9) tiicakaimikila pe.

Literal Translation.

(6) 'That it might end (7) we waited to arrive to night (8)  
 'that it might end when it came the train (9) it did not stop  
 no.

Translation.

After that we waited until nightfall. After that when the train  
 came it did not stop.

Here Venelanda in using the -e form with -man- 'to finish' is not  
 referring to the end of anything. Her use of the form is described  
 as purely bridging function which enables her to gather her thoughts  
 for what she is to say next. In this way it may possibly be  
 described as a 'filler'.

Further similar examples of this use of the -e form with -man-  
 may be seen in the speech of Mweetwa. However, Mweetwa extends what  
 has been described as the purely bridging function of the -e form to  
 another verb.

(18) Eno twakeenda kabotu-kabotu (19) 'sike (20) twakasika  
 abusena mpotwakeelede kugusya mabbusu kumaulu.

Literal Translation.

(18) Then we walked well-well (19) that it might arrive (20)  
 we arrived to the place where we ought to take off our shoes  
 from our feet.

Translation.

Then we walked on until we came to the spot where we were to  
 take our shoes off.



Here the -e form in 'sike' has been interpreted as 'until', a temporal phrase. Older Tonga use the phrase 'kusikila limwi' in this position.

Finally in the speech of Syaakanzaba there is an example of the -e form used with the verb '-ba' - 'to become'. Again this is a fixed form which is interpreted as a temporal phrase.

(19) Nitwakakkala amunzi (20) kabe kaindi (21) tucimwe (22) twaya  
mumugwagwa.

#### Literal Translation.

(19) When we had lived at home (20) that there might be a  
little time (21) that we might get bored (22) we went in the road.

#### Translation.

When we had lived at home, after a time, when we got bored  
we went working on the roads.

Again this form is described as a purely bridging form joining  
up the statement about their being at home and their becoming  
bored and going to work on the roads.

It will be noticed that even though these uses of the -e  
form may be interpreted as temporal phrases they retain the character-  
istics that have been noted for the bridging form, i.e., they depend  
on their interpretation on their position within the discourse  
and they look back to what has gone before and forward to what is to  
come later.

#### 5.4 Summary

The functions so far found for the subjunctive were divided into  
(a) those which it had in isolation, where it expressed an exhortation;  
(b) those which it has in dependence as where it expressed a wish or  
where it operated as a conditional within a sentence, and (c) where  
in functioning as a temporal it is described as having a bridging role,  
joining two events in the narrative together. This latter function

was described in terms of subsidiarity since it appears that it is only within the discourse and under the control of another form that it has this function. In some instances the bridging role was carried out with a lexically empty root such as -man- in which case the function would be said to be the equivalent of a temporal phrase. It remains to see if there is a relationship between the forms in isolation dependence and subsidiarity.

So far it has been possible to relate the different functions of a form to each other by means of some central concept or complex of concepts. In the case of the -a- form its use in subsidiary function which was described as 'immediacy' was relatable to its function in isolation which was described as denoting an action which took place 'within the past few hours', i.e., 'recently'.

The functions under 5.1 and 5.2 can to some extent be so related in that they refer to events which it is wished may take place or which possibly may take place - they refer to possibilities. However, there seems to be no possibility of including the subsidiary function in any scheme of this kind. The -e form used as a temporal refers to a definite event which took place in the past. To take it out of the context of the discourse and from under the control of the time setting form is to return it to the meaning it has as an isolated form. It ceases to have any temporal reference unless it is lodged in a narrative of past events bridging between a prior statement and one which follows. The prior form sets its time reference and the subsequent form supplies for its syntactic instability. From the point of view of schematisation it would be helpful to be able to relate function in subsidiarity to function in isolation or in dependence but that does not seem possible. The use of the subjunctive as a temporal in past narrative will have to be considered as distinct except morphologically from its use in



isolation and dependence.

## Chapter 6

The Infinitives in Past Narrative6.0 Introduction

The final set of forms that were said to function as narrative tense forms in the past are the nomino-verbals. Since these are not normally treated as tense forms it is necessary to justify their description as such within the discourse. When their use as tense forms has been established their role within the discourse will be described.<sup>1</sup>

The nomino-verbals do not appear in the morphology section and so their morphology is given here:

Kujana	<u>Ku</u> + Root + <u>a</u>	'to find'	Unstabilised infinitive (or nomino-verbal)
Nkujana	<u>NKu</u> + Root + a	'it is to find'	Stabilised Infinitive
Nkokujana	<u>NKo</u> + <u>ku</u> + Root + <u>a</u>	'it is the to find/finding'	Restrictive stabilisation of infinitive

6.1 The unstabilised infinitive, identification

This form does not appear in isolation and is usually found in such situations as:

Wakaamba kuti

Literal Translation.

He spoke to say

Translation.

He said,

or

Bakaunka kuya kumunzi.

<sup>1</sup> The format of this chapter differs from that of the previous chapters since the forms are not normally considered as tense forms.



Literal Translation.

They set out to go home.

Translation.

They set out for home. (In this latter case the infinitive is used 'purposively' indicating that they set out in order to go home).

It is also found as the subject or object of a verbal, e.g.,

Kuzyana kulakondelezya bantu.

Dancing pleases people.

Njanda kubona - I want to see.

6.1.1 The untablised infinitive in narrative

However, in the discourses we find instances such as the following from Jakopo Vundiyanga, D.P.P.1.

Ooyo mupulisa oyo, musilikani oyo (9) akasike ku Kalomo (10)

kuti, 'Oh, nobasilikani, nobami, mali ngotuboleka aya kwa Monze.

Literal Translation.

That policeman that, askari that (9) that he might arrive at Kalomo (10) to say, 'Oh, you askaris, you chiefs, the money for which we work it is going to Monze's place.'

Translation.

When that policeman, the askari, had arrived at Kalomo he said, 'Fellow askaris, my chiefs, the money we earn is going to Monze.'

The form at (10) kuti - 'to say' has been interpreted as 'he said' and described as a tense form because the other form in the sentence, the subjunctive at (9) does not play the role of a main verb in a sentence (cf. 5.3.9. ). The substitution of a present participle 'kati' - 'he saying' would be unacceptable for in that case the sentence would have two syntactically unstable forms. Thus the nomino-verbal is interpreted as filling the role of the indicative form which might be substituted for it. In this case 'wakati' - 'he said' the prehodiernal past indicative is the form which might be

substituted for 'kuti'. The nomino-verbal is marked for neither tense nor subject and these it is presumed to 'borrow' from what comes before. It borrows its subject from the policeman and the time reference it has from the discourse.

This form represents a final attenuation in narrative tense forms in that neither subject nor time reference has morphological exponence but are inferred from the controlling form. This implies a heavy reliance on the speaker - listener relationship. The listener is supposed to be so involved in the story that he can supply the parts left out of the spoken word. In this way the flow of narrative is not interrupted by the repetition of information that the listeners are presumed to have already. In the case under consideration, the listeners would know 'who' was performing the action and 'when' it was being performed, all they would need to know was 'what' was the action. The identification of the action is what the form must do. For this reason I have called the specific role of the Infinitive or nomino-verbal in a discourse, Identification. This would seem consonant with its normal function which is taken to be that of naming an action.

The same speaker uses the same verb form at (11), (20), (25), (28), (39) and (40).

The occurrence of the form at (25) is quoted in support of the argument that the use of this form involves a high degree of speaker-listener involvement since the 'subject' of the action occurs at (18).

(16) Bazoojata Monze kuya bamapulisa. (17) Bamujate Monze,  
 (18) bamutola. (19) Bakatobela (20) kuti, 'Mwami wajatwa,'  
 (21) bakatobela. Toonse twakaunka, (23) twatobela. (24) Tukasike  
 kuya kuopesi (25) kuti, 'Ee, twamujata Mwami.'



Literal Translation.

They came to catch Monze there the policemen. (17) That they might him catch, (18) they him took away. (19) They followed (20) to say, 'The chief has been held', (21) they followed. (22) We all we set out, (23) we followed. (24) That we might arrive there to the office (25) to say, 'Yes, we have him arrested Monze.'

Translation.

The policemen came and arrested Monze. When they had arrested him they took him away. The people followed saying, 'The chief has been arrested,' they all followed. We all set out and followed after. When we had arrived at the office, they said, 'Yes, we have arrested Monze.'

Here the listener is presumed to be able to fill in that the people having arrived at the office asked the policemen (last mentioned at (18)) whether or not the chief had been arrested (though this question is also to be understood) and that they the policemen (not 'we') spoke in reply. Again it should be noted that the sentence is not acceptable unless it is understood that the nomino-verbal is described as a tense form since the subjunctive at (24) requires completion by an indicative form.

A similar example is found in the speech of Maria Haakola D.P.P.3.

Eno (8) bapiluluke baama (9) kuti, 'Hai, mwandijayila mwaalumi.'

Literal Translation.

Then (8) that she might turn round my mother (9) to say, 'Hai you have on me killed husband.'

Translation.

Then when my mother had turned round she said, 'Hai, you have killed my husband.'

Again the infinitive or nomino-verbal is interpreted as a tense form since the subjunctive at (9) is syntactically unstable and

it would be unacceptable to substitute a present participle. The only form that might be substituted for 'kuti' at (9) is the indicative prehodiernal past or hodiernal past, wakati or wati.

In the speech of Mweetwa there is a further example of the nomino-verbal used as a tense form though here as it follows the -la- form it could be interpreted as being under the control of that form.

Eno boonse baya bakkede (41) balayimba inyimbo izyamisyobo-misyobo  
(42) Banooyimba buya, bamwi (43) balanyamuka (44) akunjila  
(45) akuzyana.

#### Literal Translation.

Now all those who were seated (41) they are singing songs of kinds-kinds.  
(42) They singing just, some (43) they are getting up (44) and to  
enter (45) and to dance.

#### Translation.

Then all those who were sitting down they sang songs of different kinds. While they were singing some got up from time to time, went into  
(the middle) and danced.

The interpretation of the -la- present in such circumstances as a past tense form has been dealt with in Chapter 3. Its particular aspect of use in past narrative was given as Indeterminacy as to completeness of the action, and for this reason the form is here translated as 'they got up from time to time'. Since the nomino-verbals at (44) and (45) are, it is postulated, under the control of the -la- form here then they too take on this particular aspect. In this way the people are understood to have got up and gone into the centre of the circle and danced from time to time.

It would be unacceptable to substitute a present participle for the nomino-verbals at (44) and (45).



In dealing with the speech of Monze, D.P.P.2 it was said that the interpretation of his use of the -la- present must be as a 'historic present' and that this would affect the interpretation of the forms which followed. The infinitives which Cletus Monze uses are described as being under the control of the -la- present used as a 'historic present'.

Ino mpampawaawa ono (19) balaamba, 'nee tulakujata ino, tuyanda mali.'

(20) Kuti, 'Ngaaya.'

#### Literal Translation.

Now immediately then (19) they say, 'No, we will you catch now, we want the money.'

(20) To say, 'Here it is.'

#### Translation.

Then immediately they say, No we're going to arrest you now. We want the money'.

And he says, 'Here it is.'

The infinitive at (20) is interpreted as 'And he says' since it is described as being under the control of the 'historic present' at (19) 'they say'. The subject of the form is understood to be Monze.

Here again the nomino-verbal is described as an indicative form or as filling the function of one within the discourse since it would be unacceptable to substitute a participle for the form. The only acceptable alternative to 'kuti' in this particular case would be either 'ulati' or 'uti' - 'he says'.

The necessity to treat the infinitive as a tense form within a discourse has been seen from the use made of the verb -ti 'to say' though admittedly in only limited circumstances, where it functions within a discourse under the control of other forms which supply it with subject and time reference. It is also to be noted that 'ti'

is the only verb so used. The next infinitive or nomino-verbal to be dealt with is the stabilised infinitive.

## 6.2 The stabilised infinitive.

The stabilised nomino-verbal is also in certain restricted circumstances within a discourse to be treated as a tense form. In everyday speech this form occurs with a limited number of roots such as the following:

'Nkubaja' -

### Literal Translation.

It is to lie.

### Translation.

You're lying.

In this case it is used to rebut a statement made by someone and is interpreted as a present tense. It is interchangeable with

'Wabeja.'

### Literal Translation.

You have lied.

### Translation.

You're lying.

'Nkubaja' may also be used to state 'He's lying' in a context where such an interpretation is demanded.

As a narrative form it is found with the root -jan- 'to find' in sentences such as the following.

Twakasika amunzi. Nkujana bantu tiibakali ko.

### Literal Translation.

We arrived at the village It is to find the people they were not there.



Translation.

We arrived home. We found <sup>2</sup> ~~tht~~ <sup>1</sup> there was nobody there.

The interpretation of the stabilised nomino-verbal as a tense form depends on its position within a discourse. It would not be possible to begin a discourse with the form.

\*Nkujana nitwakasika a munzi bantu tiibakali ko.

It remains to see, however, whether in fact the form must be interpreted as a tense form within the discourses. In Jakopo Vundiyanga, D.P.P.1 we find:

(29) Bakaunka muopesi lebelebelebelebe. (30) Bakaakwiitwa mazyina, 'Ndaba'.

'Ii.'

'Mali ngowakatola kuli Monze malinzi?'

'Mali aya.'

Ngaayo Monze (31) nkuzubula. Aumwi (32) nkuzubula, aumwi (33) nkuzubula, aumwi (34) (35) nkuzubula, aumwi (36) nkuzubula limwi mal'aaya (37) aakuwaala nketeeke.

Literal Translation.

(29) They went into the office, pouring in one after the other.

(30) They were finally called the names, 'So and so'.

'Yes'.

'The money which you took to Monze, money which?'

'Money this.'

There is Monze (31) it is to count out, to another (32) it is to count out (33) to another it is to count out, to another (34) it is to count out, to another (35) it is to count out, to another (36) it is to count out until money this (37) it finally fell, clink clink.

Translation.

They went into the office, pouring in one after the other like grains of corn falling from a winnowing basket. Finally their names were called, 'So and so.'

'Yes'.

'How much money did you take to Monze?'

'So and so much.'

And then Monze counted out the money, to the first one he gave his due and to the second and to the third and so on until the last of the money clinked down.

The stabilised nomino-verbal which occurs five times in succession in this extract is interpreted as a tense form within the discourse as the only form substitutable for it would be an indicative in which case there would be:

Ngaayo Monze wa(ka)zubula

Literal Translation.

Here is Monze he counted out.

Translation.

Then Monze counted out ....

This form is described as having a tense function within the discourse even though it is not marked morphologically for either tense of subject. The actor, Monze is named, and the time of the action is under the control of the -aka- form which set the time reference for the discourse.

The particular way in which this form is said to operate is as stressing the aspect of the existence of the action. What is brought into belief by the use of this form is the action of Monze in counting out the money. It is unnecessary from the listeners point of view to state once again when the action took place.

A further example in support of the argument that this form is used as a tense form is taken from the speech of Cletus Monze:

Ino mbwaakali musongo, wal' mudaala nguweni oyu nkaambo (11)  
 wakali musyisyimi, weeta mali (12) nkutyola kasanga, weeta  
 mali (13) nkutyola kasanga weeta mali (14) nkutyola kasanga, weeta  
 mali (15) nkutyola kasanga. Ono ulalundika tusanga toonse.

#### Literal Translation.

Now, as he was a wise man, but he the old man the same this one because (11) he was a clever person, who brought money (12) it is to break a little reed, who brought money (13) it is to break a little reed, who brought money (14) it is to break a little reed, who brought money, (15) it is to break a little reed. Now he is piling all the little reeds.

#### Translation.

Now as he was very clever, the old man, he was a real genius For every person who brought money he broke a reed, for literally every person who brought money he broke a reed.

Again the use of the stabilised nomino-verbal is interpreted as a past tense form since the only substitution for the form as it appears here would be a past indicative. It is also be noted that in the sentence as it stands in the discourse it is the only form in the sentence which may be so interpreted since 'weeta' - 'who brought' is a past relative, tense 22. It might at first have seemed more reasonable that the stabilised nomino-verbal as it appears here should be interpreted as under the control of the 'historic present' that Monze uses, however, the occurrence of the past hodiernal relative in 'weeta' 'who brought' demands the interpretation of the past tense form for nkutyola - 'It is to break'



The stabilised nomino-verbal has been interpreted here as a past tense form within the discourse. It is of course only in the positions which have been outlined that the form may be so interpreted, that is within the discourse and when it may only be substituted for by an indicative form.<sup>1</sup> As in the case of the unstabilised nomino-verbal this form is not morphologically marked for either subject or tense and these are borrowed from its controlling forms. The unstabilised infinitive and the stabilised differ in that the former is restricted to the naming or identification of the action while in the latter what is stressed is the existence or reality of the action. This is the second of the nomino-verbals to be described as a past tense form and we are now to deal with the restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive or nomino-verbal.

### 6.3 Restrictive stabilisation of infinitive.

As was said in 6.0 this form has no equivalent in English and so its use is given here to see how it may be understood. As in the case of the infinitive and the stabilised nomino-verbal this form does not function in isolation but must be seen in context. An example of its use is:

Twakeenda-twakeenda. Nkokusika kumunzi.

#### Literal Translation.

We walked we walked. It is the arriving to the village.

#### Translation.

We walked and walked. Eventually we got home.

1

In speech of Mweetwa the stabilised infinitive is interpreted as playing the role of a participle at:

Okuya (23) twakainka mukunyankulwa (24) nkuya kusunkutula-sunkutula...

Literal Translation. There (23) we set out in to lift our feet (24) it is to go to limp-limp. Translation. Then we set out going along lifting our feet.

As may be seen the form is not marked for either subject or tense and again its interpretation as a tense form is dependent on its position within a discourse. It would not be possible to begin a discourse with the restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive. It is invariable used after another statement and as may be seen from the translation it implies that the action denoted is consequent upon what has gone before, either temporally or logically; we walked and walked and therefore or then (afterwards) we got home.

The first example of the stabilised infinitive is taken from the speech of Maria Haakola, D.P.P.3.

Ino (12) bakabaleka Baama ecicisa cabo. (13) Bakaunka oku kubu Tebele. (14) Kuyoosika oko (15) balalelwa, balalelwa. Mwana ngo bakatolelela (16) wafwa. Eno (17) balikkede, balikkede, balikkede. (18) Nkokukwatwa kuli taata aakatuzyala.

#### Literal Translation.

Now (12) they left my mother with wound hers. (13) They set out there to Matabeleland. (14) To go to arrive there, (15) she is fostered, she is fostered. The child which she had brought with her (16) it died. Then (17) she is sitting, she is sitting, she is sitting. (18) It is the being married to father who bore us.

#### Translation.

So they left my mother alone and did not kill her. They set out for Matabeleland. When they arrived there she was under fosterage for a long time. The child she had brought with her died. So she sat and sat and sat. And eventually she was married to our father.

The first thing to be established is that the restrictive stabilisation of the nomino-verbal at (18) is functioning as a past tense form in the sentence here. It has been said that it is only

within the discourse that the form may be so interpreted and not as an isolated one. The sentence only has the meaning given to it within the discourse but within the discourse it must be interpreted as it has been since the only form which might be substituted for it in this case would be 'Elyo (18) wakakwatwa....' This is the prehodiernal past indicative. In this way it is seen that the form at (19) 'nkokukwatwa kuli taata... must be interpreted as playing the role of a past indicative.

The way in which it does operate as an indicative past is described above in terms of consequence. The action or event denoted is taken to occur as a result of what was said in the previous sentences. In this case the reasons for her getting married are implied rather than stated though it would have been clear to a Tonga that any woman who could still bear children should marry after a time. In this way the fact that she 'sat' (lived under fosterage) for a long time is sufficient reason for her getting married. At the same time the listeners are being prepared for what is to come later (cf. no.21) by the insinuation that she only married because she had been widowed for a long time and married only to bear children. When a suitable marriage partner, a Mapanza Tonga, does appear the woman's brothers take her away from her husband.

The description of the use of the restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive is used in terms of consequence is supported by another quotation which is from Jakopo Vundiyanga D.P.P.1.

(38) Baamba makuwa (38a)ati, 'Tookabba pe. Mwazyulizya noba We, mal'aanu oonse, akwana?

(3) Kuti, 'Inzya, oonse akwana.'

'Kwiina asweeka kubon'aanga wakalya Monze pe?'

(40) Kuti, 'Kunyina, oonse nggaya mpali.'

(41) Nkokuti, Woo Monze, lino utakaatambuli kabili mal'aabantu.'



Literal Translation.

(38) They spoke the Europeans (38a) they said, You did not steal no. Have you filled up you ba We, money yours all, it is correct?

(39) To say, 'Yes, it is all correct.'

'There is none which has got lost, to see as if he ate Monze no?'

(40) To say, 'There is none, it all, there it is, it is right here (41) It is the saying, 'Woo, Monze, now do not it receive twice money of people.'

Translation.

The Europeans then spoke, 'So you did not steal. Have you ba We got the correct amount, is it right?'

They replied, 'Yes, it is correct.'

There is not missing? Monze hasn't taken any?

They said, No, it is all here.'

So then they said, 'Alright Monze, now don't accept the peoples' money again.'

This rather long quotation is given to show how the build up to the final statement is made. The only form which would be substitutable for the restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive at (41) is a hodiernal or prehodiernal past indicative with a particle or similar item denoting time or consequence such as 'Elyo (41) bakati - so they said.'

Further examples of the use of the restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive used as a past tense form may be found in the speech of Maria Haakola, quoted above, at (25) and (27). It is now necessary to examine the use of this form in the speech of Cletus Monze since in his discourse the form occurs under the control of the -la- present used as 'historic present'.

At (5) there is 'Ino ulaamba' - which has been interpreted as 'Now he says'. This is followed by a long series of quotations and the next narrative form is at (6).

(6) Nkokuti, 'Olaiti, ncibotu, inga njanda kuti ngambile bantu bangu.' Ino (7) nkokwaambila manduna akwe, manduna akwe, (7a) nkokwaambila.

#### Literal Translation.

(6) It is the saying, alright, it is good, perhaps I want that I may tell my people.' Now (7) it is the telling sub-chiefs his, sub-chiefs his (7a) it is the telling.

#### Translation.

And so he says, Alright, that seems fair. I should like to tell my people.' And so he tells his sub-chiefs, he tells them his sub-chiefs.

In this case the two instances of the restrictive stabilisation of the nomino- verbal are interpreted as having a present tense reference since they are under the control of the present at (5). However, this does not interfere with their interpretation as filling the role of indicative tense forms as in both cases the only substitution acceptable would be that of the indicative. In this way at (6) we could have,

(6) Elyo wa(ka)ti, and at (7) Elyo wa(ka)ambila manduna akwe.

It would not be acceptable to substitute a syntactically unstable form such as a participle.

From what has been seen above the restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive is interpreted in discourse as having the function of a tense form. In a past discourse such as that of Maria Haakola or Jakopo Vundiyanga it has a past time reference since it is under the control of past tense forms. The case of Cletus <sup>2</sup>Monje required a different interpretation since he is described as using the -la-

present as a 'historic present' within a past discourse and the restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive is interpreted as having a similar reference since it is described as being under the control of this 'historic present'.

The restrictive stabilisation at (7) is repeated at (7a). This may be seen as an example of Dramatic Repetition of the form to give emphasis.

#### 6.4 Summary

In this chapter I have endeavoured to show that the infinitives, though not marked morphologically for either subject or tense, are used as past tense forms within the discourse.

In the case of the unstabilised infinitive it was seen only with the verb -ti 'to say' and in this occurrence it was described as identifying the action without breaking the flow of narrative by the repetition of information that the listeners would be presumed to have already. Its function as a tense form was established by the fact that the only substitution possible was an indicative past tense form.

The stabilised infinitives were also established as tense forms in the same way. Their particular function was described in terms of stressing the existence of the action. While the infinitive in its unstabilised form merely identified the action the stabilised version stressed the particular action it denoted. It is significant that both Jakopo Vundiyanga and Cletus Monze repeated the form several times to draw attention to the action.

The restrictive stabilisation was also seen to operate as a tense form, though like the other infinitival forms it is not marked for subject or tense. The particular function it was described as fulfilling was that of conclusion or consequence; the action it denoted being taken to occur as a result of what had gone before.



All three infinitival forms were seen as functioning as tense forms only within a discourse where their lack of morphological exponence of subject and tense could be inferred from other forms within the discourse.

Discourse Prehodiernal Past 1, Section 1.The Imprisonment of Chief Monze Ncete. Jakopo Vundiyanga.

- (1) Wakaunka muntu lifwi eli ndyomucita nobana. Waali mupulisa ku Kalomo, waali mupulisa kwa Kasempa oku. (2) Waakucita<sup>1</sup> lifwi oku kubu We.<sup>2</sup> (3) Akacite lifwi, (4) akasike oki, (5) waakwaamba<sup>1</sup> (5a) kuti<sup>3</sup>, 'Ha, ani mal'aaya mutolayi?' (6) Bati, 'Ya, tutola ku Mwami mwayi, kubulelo bwesu kwa Monze. 'Ani kwa Monze ayakutyani?' (7) Kuti, 'Ma, ccita<sup>4</sup>, mbayakucita<sup>5</sup> taata, tutola buyo.' (8) Ati, 'Yoo, ncibotu.' Ooyo mupulisa oyo, musilikani oyo (9) aka-sike ku Kalomo (10) kuti, 'Oh, nobasilikani, nobami, mali ngotubeleka aya kwa Monze.' 'Aya kwa Monze?' (11) Kuti, 'Ee.' 'Ah, Monze oyu wacita cibyaabi, kaashe<sup>6</sup>, mbabami-bami-bami taata.' Bami bakokuya, bamakuwa bapati, bati ba Libbani, (12) basungulani?<sup>7</sup> (13) Basungula mabbebbani, mukuwa mujoni, mabbebbani mujoni. (14) Basungulani? (15) Basungula Seejani Namazaka. Inkepwe zyotatwe ku.....Namazaka. (16) Bazoojata Monze kuya bamapulisa. (17) Bamujate Monze, (18) bamutola. (19) Bakatobela (20) kuti, 'Mwami wajatwa,' (21) bakatobela. Toonse (22) twakaunka, (23) twatobela.

Literal Translation

- (1) He went a person leave this which you do you children. He was a policeman at Kalomo, he was a policeman at Kasempa's place there. (2) He (distance) made leave there in We country. (3) That he might make leave, (4) that he might arrive there, (5) he (finally) spoke

(5a) to say, 'Ha, but money this you are taking where?' (6) They said, 'Ya, we are taking to the Chief, friend, to rulership ours at Monze's place.'

'But at Monze's place it is going to do what?'

(7) To say, 'Ma, we don't know, they are who are going to do, father, we are taking only.'

(8) He said, 'Yoo, it is good.' That policeman that, askari that

(9) that he might arrive at Kalomo (10) to say, 'Oh, you askaris, you chiefs, the money for which we work it is going to Monze's place.'

'It is going to Monze's place?'

(11) To say, 'Yes.'

'Ah, Monze this he has done very badly, kaashe, they are chiefs-chiefs-chiefs, father.' The chiefs of there, the Europeans the big ones, they say the Ribbons, (12) they led whom? (13) They led the shouters, a European policeman, a shouter policeman. (14) They led whom? (15) They led Serjeant Namazaka. Stripes three on..... Namazaka.

(16) They came to catch Monze there the policemen. (17) That they might him catch, (18) they him took away. (19) They followed (20) to say, 'The Chief has been held,' they followed. (22) We all we set out, (23) we followed.

#### Translation.

A man went on leave, as you young people do. He was a police man at Kalomo, at Kasempa's place. He went off there to We country When he had gone on leave, when he had got there he said, 'Where are you taking that money?'

They said, 'To the Chief, friend, to our ruler at Monze's place.'

'And what's it for?'

They replied, 'We don't know, they are the ones who decide, we just take it there.'



So he said, 'Alright.' But when that policeman, the askari, had arrived at Kalomo he said, 'Fellow askaris, the money that we earn is going to Monze.'

'It's going to Monze?'

'Yes.' He replied.

'Well, that Monze man has done something very wrong, he's a useless chief.' The important people from down there, the head Europeans, called the beribboned ones and who did they send for? They sent for that shouting European policeman, the European policeman. Who did they send for. They sent for Serjeant Namazaka. The one with three stripes on.....Namazaka.

They came and arrested Monze, the policemen. As soon as they had arrested him they took him away. The people followed saying, 'The chief has been arrested.' They all followed. We all set out and followed after.

- 
1. This tense form is the -a- hodiernal past with the insertion of aku- after the -a- of the tense sign and before the root. This enclitic -aku- is used to denote distance in either time or space. For this reason it is translated as 'finally' when it is a question of time, but it is not possible to find a corresponding word to use for the translation of -aku- when it refers to space and so 'distance' is put in brackets to indicate what is referred to.
  2. The prefix bu- is used before stems to give the notion of abstractness, e.g., bu-ntu - 'human nature', cf., mu-ntu - 'a human being'. Before the name of a tribe bu- refers the ensuring stem to the country where that tribe lives, e.g., bu Tonga 'the country where the Tonga live.'
  3. 'waakwaamba kuti' - 'he spoke to say' - This repetition is common in Bantu languages and in Tonga is virtually a fixed form.
  4. 'Ccita' - 'I don't know' is more frequently used than what is regarded as more acceptable, namely 'Nsyezyi' - 'I don't know'.
  5. There are two forms of stabilization for relatives, just as there are for nouns and possessives. In the case of possessives and relatives, however, the restrictive stabilization is more common, e.g., 'necamusimbi' - 'it is the thing belonging to the

girl' is more common than 'ncamusimbi' - 'it is the girl's' and 'mbabayakucita' - 'they are the ones who are going to do it' is more common than 'mbayakucita' - 'they are who are going to do it/it is they who are going to do it'. The stabilized forms of both possessives and relatives have fallen into near desuetude.

6. 'Ka<sup>a</sup>she' - An expression of disagreement and sometimes of disgust.
7. -sungul- 'to lead, as soldiers'. It is used here to say that the Chief of Police had given orders to Namazaka to lead some policemen up north to Monze's place to arrest the Chief.

Discourse Prehodiernal Past 1, Section 2.

(24) Tukasike kuya kuopesi (25) kuti, 'Ee, twamujata Mwami.' Aba  
 We (26) twaakujana (27) basika kale ntentente<sup>1</sup> banji-banji. (28) Kutu,  
 'Oh, twamuleta. Ngooyu waali kutola mal'aanu. Kamuboola.'  
 (29) Bakaunka muopesi lebelebelebelebe<sup>2</sup>. (30) Bakaakwiitwa mazyina,  
 'Ndaba.'  
 'Ii'.  
 'Mali ngowakatola kuli Monze malinzi?'  
 'Mali aya.'  
 Ngaayo Monze (31) nkuzubula. Aumwi (32) nkuzubula, aumwi (33) nkuzubula,  
 aumwi (32) nkuzubula, aumwi (35) nkuzubula, aumwi (36) nkuzubula  
 limwi mal'aaya (37) aakuwaala nketeeke<sup>3</sup>.  
 (38) Baamba makuwa (38a) ati, 'Tookabba pe. Mwazyulizya noba We,  
 mal'aanu oonse, akwana?'<sup>4</sup>  
 (39) Kutu, 'Inzya, oonse akwana.'  
 'Kwiina asweeka kubon'aanga wakalya Monze pe?'  
 (40) Kutu, 'Kunyina, oonse ngaaya mpali.'  
 (41) Nkokuti, 'Woo Monze, lino utakaatambuli kabili, mal'aabantu. Lino  
 tulakubikka muntolono. Tulakubikka muntolongo. Utakaatambuli  
 kabili.'

Literal Translation.

(24) That we might arrive there to the office (25) to say, 'Yes, we  
 have him arrested Monze.'  
 And the ba We (26) we (distance) found (27) they have arrived already  
 crowds they many, they many.  
 (28) To say, 'Oh, we have him brought. Here he is who was taking away  
 money yours. Come.'  
 (29) They went into the office, pouring in one after the other.



(30) They were finally called the names, 'So and so.'

'Yes'.

'The money which you took to Monze, money which?'

'Money this.'

There is Monze (31) it is to count out, to another (32) it is to count (33) to another it is to count out, to another (34) it is to count out, to another (35) it is to count out, to another (36) it is to count out until money this (37) it finally fell, clink, clink.

(38) They spoke the Europeans they said, 'You did not steal no.

Have you filled up you ba We, money yours all, it is correct?'

(39) To say, 'Yes, it is all correct.'

'There is none which has got lost, to see as if he ate Monze no?'

(40) To say, 'There is none, it all, here it is, it is right here.'

(41) It is the to say, 'Woo, Monze, now do not it receive twice money of people. Now we will you put in prison. We will you put in prison. Let you not it receive twice.'

#### Translation

When we had arrived at the office, they said, 'Yes, we have arrested Monze.'

As for the We people we found that they had already arrived in droves. The policemen said, 'Well, we have brought him here. Here is the one who was taking your money. Come in.'

They went into the office, pouring in one after the other like grains of corn falling from a winnowing basket. Finally their names were called, 'So and so.'

'Yes.'

'How much money did you take to Monze?'

'So and so much.'

And then Monze began counting out the money, to the first one, and the next, and the next, and the next until all the money had fallen

clinking down. The Europeans then spoke, 'So you did not steal.

Have you all the correct amount, is it right?'

They replied, 'Yes, it is correct.'

'There is none missing? Monze hasn't taken any?'

They said, 'No, it is all here.'

So eventually they said, 'Alright Monze, now don't accept the people's money again. We are now going to put you in prison. We're putting you in prison. You are not to accept money again.'

- 
1. 'ntentente' - an ideophone used to indicate a large number of people.
  2. 'lebelebelebelebe' - and ideophone used to indicate the people going into the office one after the other. It is taken from the pouring of corn grains from a winnowing basket.
  3. 'nketekee' - an ideophone used to indicate the last few coins being counted out.
  4. -kwan- 'to be correct' A verb used normally to refer to correct sums of money received as wages etc.

Discourse Prehodiernal Past 2.The Imprisonment of Chief Monze Ncete. Chief Monze Cletus.

Ino alimwi (1) akkale boobo, (2) taningaunka okuya (3) kwaaboola bambi bamakuwa (4) balaamba kuti, 'Monze, tuyanda kuti ukabone Queen Victoria. Luwanika wakaunka kuti akabone Queen Victoria. Luwanika waamba kuti, 'Mebo nyika njiyangu yoonse.'

Ino (5) ulaamba, 'Aha, Luwanika tulaandene. Ino Luwanika ncaboola kulindime kuti tuzyikukambe ncinzi? Mebo nee, nkokuti inkasaine ambeyo njende.'

'Kojana mali Monze.'

"Aakutola kooku kubukuwa?"<sup>1</sup>

Aakutola kooku kubukuwa.

'Ino inga ndaunkaanzi?'

'Nee, tulakutola, tulikuzyi, mbubona mbwaakaunkani? mbwaakaunka...

"Luwanika."

Luwanika. Jno (6) nkokuti, 'Olaiti, ncibotu, inga njanda kuti ngambile bantu bangu.' Imo (7) nkokwaambila manduna akwe, manduna akwe, nkokwaambila. Ma. (8) Babikka lunji-lunji mali, babikka lunji-lunji. Ino Luwanika (9) waakumvwa (10) ulaamba, 'Wee, walo Monze sunu watalika kutelesya alimwi.'

"Watalika kutelesya?"

Ihii. Ino mbwaakali musongo, walo mudaala nguwana oyu nkaambo

(11) wakali musyisyimi, weeta mali (12) nkutyola kasanga, weeta mali

(13) nkutyola kasanga, weeta mali <sup>(14)</sup> nkutyola kasanga, weeta mali

(15) nkutyola kasanga. Ono (16) ulalundika tusanga toonse.

'Twankujata Monze. Hena ebo Monze ncobeni makani ngobaamba alisyuwa?

(17) Kutu, 'Ii, shuah, nkwaali. Ali kasimpe.'



"Aakutelesya bantu?"

Aakutelesya bantu. 'Bantu batelelanzi mali?'

'Njanda kuti nkabone Queen Victoria.'

'Uye kubukuwa?'

(18) Kutu, 'Inzya biya me, nje kubukuwa.'

'Aha Monze, peepe. Langa bantu mbaaba, ino bakujata. Luwanika wakukasya kuti uye kooku.'

Ino mpampawaawa ono (19) balaamba, 'nee, tulakujata ino, tuyanda mali.'

(20) Kutu, 'Ngaaya.'

(21) Nkokuti, 'Pe, mali, ngaaya asyini musoke mubale tusanga otu amali. Aleendelana.'

"Kasanga mmuntu?"

Mukasanga mmuntu amali ngaabikka. Kasanga mmuntu amali. Ino

(22) nikwaamana boobo, Monze alya, (23) bakamujata, (24) bamutola ku Kalomo muntolongo (25) baakumwaanga.

#### Literal Translation.

Now again (1) he might live thus, (2) he has not yet gone there (3) there came other Europeans (4) they are speaking to say, 'Monze we want to say let you see Queen Victoria. Luwanika he went that he might see Queen Victoria. Luwanika he spoke to say, 'Me the land it is mine it all.'

Now (5) he is saying, 'Aha, Luwanika we are different. Now Luwanika why he comes to clap here it is why?' Look, having become short of water Luwanika he is coming to me to say let us come to clap. Me no, it is the to say, let me sign on and I, let me walk.'

'Find money Monze.'

"Of to take there to Europe?"

Of to take there to Europe.

'Now perhaps I would go with what?'

'No, we will take you, we there know, in the same way as he went who?  
as he went.....

"Luwanika"

Luwanika. Now it (6) is the to say, 'Alright, it is good, perhaps  
I want to say let me tell people mine.' Now (7) it is the to tell  
sub-chiefs his, sub-chiefs his, it is the to tell. Ma. (8) They  
put lot-lot money, they put lot-lot. Now Luwanika (9) he having  
(finally) heard (10) he is saying, 'Wee, but he Monze today he has  
begun to tax again.'

"He has begun to tax?"

Yes. Now as he was a wise man, but he the old man he is the same  
this because (11) he was a clever person, who brought money (12) it  
is to break a little reed, who brought money (13) it is to break a  
little reed, who brought money (14) it is to break a little reed,  
who brought money (15) it is to break a little reed. Now (16) he is  
piling little reeds all.

'We have you arrested Monze.'

'? You Monze it is true the news which they say they are sure?'

(17) Yes, sure they are present. They are true.'

"Of to tax people?"

Of to tax people. 'The people they pay tax why money?'

'I want to say, that I may see Queen Victoria.'

'That you may go to Europe?'

(18) To say, 'Yes, indeed me, that I may go to Europe.'

'Aha, Monze no. Look, the people here they are, now they have you  
arrested, Luwanika has you forbidden to say let you go there.'

Now it is the here now (19) they are saying, 'No, we will arrest you  
now, we want the money.'

(20) To say, 'Here it is.' (21) it is the to say, 'No, the money,

here it is first let you try, let you count little reeds these and money. They will be equal.

"A little reed is a person?"

In a little reed is a person and the money which he put. A little reed is a person and money. Now (22) when there was finished thus Monze there, (23) they him arrested, (24) they him took away to Kalomo in the prison, (25) they (distance) him imprisoned.

Translation.

Now when he had settled down thus, before he went over there in that direction, there came more Europeans. These ones said, 'Monze, we want you to see Queen Victoria. Luwanika went to see the Queen and he said that the whole country belonged to him.' Then Monze says, 'But Luwanika and I are different. Why does Luwanika come here to pray? Look, when Luwanika is short of water he comes to me so that we may pray. That means I'll have to sign up myself and <sup>g</sup>o.'

'You'll need money Monze.' They say.

"To take him to Europe."

To take him to Europe. 'Now how will I go?'

'That's alright, we'll take you. We know the way there. We'll take you the same way as .....

"Luwanika"

'Luwanika went.' So he says, Alright, that seems fair. I must tell my people.' And so he tells his sub-chiefs. Goodness they gathered a vast quantity of money. Now when Luwanika heard he said, 'Monze has begun to levy tax again.'

"he has begun to levy tax again?"

Yes. Now as he was very clever, the old man, a real genius. For every person who brought money he broke a reed, for literally every-one who brought money he broke a reed. Then he gathers all the reeds



together.

'We have you Monze. Is it true Monze, what they are saying?'

He says, 'Yes, it is true, it's absolutely true.'

"About taxing people?"

About taxing people. 'What are people paying tax for?'

'I want to see Queen Victoria.'

'You want to go to Europe?'

He says, 'Yes, it's so I can go to Europe.'

'Look Monze no. The people have arrested you. Luwanika has forbidden you to go over there.' So they said, 'No, we're going to arrest you, we want the money.'

So he says, 'Here it is.' That's what he said, 'Here's the money.

Count it first, count the reeds and the money, you'll find they go together.'

"A reed equals a person?"

For each reed there is a person and the money which he had given.

A reed equals a person and his money. Now when all that was finished, they arrested Monze, took him to Kalomo, to the jail and imprisoned him there.

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1. " " are used to indicate an interjection by the teacher, Micelo, who was interviewing the Chief on my behalf.

Discourse Prehodiernal Past 3.The Life of our Family. Maria Haakola.

P.<sup>1</sup> Nyanda omubuzya buumi bwamukwasyi wesu, bwamukwasyi okwesu mbuli mbwaakatalika-talika ambubwakeenda kuzwa kumatalikilo mazuba aya akamana. Eno mulabapandulula buti?

M. Ino Baama nkondo (1) yakabajana mu Mbese oku kuba Maala. (2) Ibajane ku Mbese wakali kujesi omwana uunyonka umusankwa. Eno (3) bakababweza ba Matabele (4) babatola. Eno (5) basike munzila mwaalumi abo (6) bamuyasa suno, ba Matabele (7) wafwa. Eno (8) bapiluluke Baama (9) kuti, 'Hai, mwandijayila mwaalumi.' Abalo (10) bakabajumbisya sumo ili waawa ada. Bamwi (11) baamba kuti, 'Pe, mutamujayi oyu walo oyu mmukaintu nkaambo ujesi mwana. Mmukaintu amumuleke.'

Ino (12) bakabaleka Baama ecicisa cabo. (13) Bakaunka oku ku Butebele. (14) Kuyoosika oko (15) balalelwa, balalelwa. Mwana ngo-bakatolelela (16) wafwa. Eno (17) balikkede, balikkede, balikkede. (18) Nkokukwatwa kuli taata aakatuzyala. (19) Twakazyalwa totatwe, basankwa bobile, ndemusimbi omwe. Eno (20) kumane mpawo babulula babo (21) bakaamba kuti, 'Pe, tatuciyandi mbookaletwa nkondo, kuteeti lino ukwatwe kumuntu uzwa kubu W'ooku, uyoosweeka kale. Eno tuyanda mu Tonga uuzwa kwa Mapanza.' (22) Bakabagusya munhanda eyo, (23) bakabakwatya kumu Tonga uwakokuno. (24) Twakakkal'iciindi cilamfu. (25) Nkokucita kuti taata oyu (26) wakabakwat'imu Tonga aakokuno. (27) Nkokutuleta kokuno kubu Tonga. Mbotwakeenda obu.

Literal Translation.

P. I want to you ask the life of family ours, of family ours in the way how it began-began and how it walked to come from to the beginnings days these which are finished. Now you will to them

explain how?

M. Now Mother the war (1) it her found in Mbesa there to the Maala.

(2) That it might her find at Mbesa she was to have a child who sucks, a boy. Then (3) they her laid hands on the Matabele (4) they her took away. Then (5) they might arrive in the path, husband hers (6) they him pierced with a spear, the Matabele (7) he died. Then (8) she might turn around my Mother (9) to say, 'Hai, you have on me killed husband.' And her, (11) they her cut with a spear it is here on the womb. Some (11) they said that, 'no, let you not her kill this one, but she is a woman, because she has a child. She is a woman. Let you her leave.'

Now (12) they her left my mother with wound hers. (13) They set out there to Matabeleland. (14) To go to arrive there (15) she is fostered, she is fostered. The child which she had brought with her (16) it died. Then (17) she is sitting, she is sitting, she is sitting. (18) It is the to be married to my Father who bore us. (19) We were born we three, boys two, I a girl one. Then (20) that it might finish there brothers hers (21) they spoke to say, 'No, we do not still like as you were brought war, to say now you might be married to a person who comes out of to We land there, you are going to be lost already. Now we want a Tonga who comes out of Mapanza's area.' (22) They her took out of in house that, (23) they her married to a Tonga of here. (24) We lived time long. (25) It is the to do to say father this (26) he her married a Tonga of here. (27) It is the to us bring here to Tonga land. It is how we walked thus.

Translation.

P. I want to ask you about our family life and how it began and how it progressed from the beginning. How will you explain it to them?

M. Now the war found my Mother at Mbesa there among the Maala. At



the time it found her she was suckling a child, a boy. The Matabele captured her and took her off. When they had arrived on the pathway they, the Matabele, ran a spear through her husband and he died. Then when my mother had turned round she said, 'You have killed my husband'. They injured her too, here on the stomach. Some of them said, No, don't kill her, she's a woman and she has a child. She's a woman, leave her.

So they left my mother alone and did not kill her. They set out for Matabeleland. When they arrived there she was under fosterage for a long time. The child she had brought with her died. So she sat, and sat, and sat. And eventually she was married to our father. There were three of us born, two boys and me, the only girl. Then after that her brothers said, 'We don't like the way you were brought as a captive in such a way as to cause you to be married to someone from We country, you'll be lost later on. Now we want a Tonga from the Mapanza area.' They took her away from her husband and married her to a Tonga from this area. We lived there for a long time. And that is how father married a Tonga from round here. And eventually he brought us here to Tonga country. That's the way we went.

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1. P. stands for Paulu Haakola who was questioning M. i.e., Maria Haakola.

Discourse Prehodiernal Past 4.The Death of my Husband. Paulina Mukansefwa.

Ngamba kuti (1) wakafwa nsyeelendikke, ndimujisi kumutwe mulum'aangu  
 (2) Ndabona (3) watalika kugusya meso. Hena nkufwa suah masimpe?  
 (4) Nkubona mbwaakati meso (4a) waagusya oku mubi, nkiide mutwe amubili oku ulilede abulo, (5) ndata abikke mutwe wakwe amaulu. Nkubona muntu wagusya meso.

Nkabela (6) ndamulazika ansi, abulo, mutwe wakwe (7) nduubikka.  
 (8) Ndaabweza meenda munkapu (9) ndatila kumeso. (10) Wandilanga biya (10a) kandaambila kuti, 'Mbubo ino Paulina ndileke.' Nkabela (11) uciya buvumba<sup>1</sup> meso. (12) Wafa kufwida limwi<sup>2</sup> (12a) kakunyina naakasinsimuka alimwi. Ncengamba kuti (13) wakafwa amubili wangu (14) Ndakayoowa.

Literal Translation.

I am saying that (1) he died me being alone, I am him holding to the head husband mine. (2) I saw (3) he has begun to pull out the eyes. ? it is to die sure truly? (4) It is to see as he said the eyes (4a) he them pulled out there, the poor person, it is just the head and body there he is lying on the bed, (5) I said that me might put head his on feet. It is to see a person who has pulled out eyes.

And so (6) I him laid down, on the bed, head his (7) I it put. (8) I it picked up water in tin (9) I poured on eyes. (10) He me looked at indeed (10a) he me telling to say, 'It is alright Paulina let you me leave.' And so (11) he is still going to cover eyes. (12) He died to die completely (12a) there not being any when he got up again. That is why I speak to say (13) he died on body mine (14) I was afraid.

Translation.

What I am saying is that my husband died while I was on my own, with me holding him by the head. I saw that he had begun to pull out his eyes. I see that he has begun to pull out his eyes. Oh! is this what death is? When I saw that he was about to pull out his eyes, the poor man, with his head and body on the bed I said that he should put his head on my lap. Oh! to see someone pull out their eyes.

And so I laid him down on the bed and put his head on my lap. I took some water in a tin and poured it on his eyes. He looked at me and said, 'It is alright Paulina, you can leave me be.' At the same time he kept covering his eyes. He then died shortly after without ever getting up again. That is why I say he died on my lap. I became afraid.

- 
1. The DVP bu- is used before the stem of a verb instead of ku- when continuity is referred to.
  2. kufwida limwi - a fixed form to indicate the irrevocability of death.



Discourse Prehodiernal Past 5.Working. Syaakanzaba.

B.<sup>1</sup> Ino (1) nimwakamanizya oyo mulimo wakuuma citina (2) mwakaya kuli?

S. Ono (3) twazya amunzi (4) twakkala alimwi.

B. (5) Mwakkala amunzi?

S. Ii.

B. Mpoona (6) mwakkalila limwi?<sup>2</sup>

S. Ino (7) tumane (8) nitwaazwa awo, (9) twaya ku Lusaka (10) twakuyanda milimo imbi.

B. (11) Nomwakajoka kooko?

S. (12) Notwakajoka kooko (13) citucime (14) twazya amunzi (15) twazyi kukkala.

B. (16) Mwazyikukkala amunzi. 'No (17) mwakkala amunzi (18) kwiina nimwakayeeya kulindila kuncito kukusenbenza pe?

S. (19) Nitwakakkala amunzi (20) kabe kaindi (21) tucimwe (22) twaya mumugwagwa, (23) twayepa kugwalula masamu kuya ku Kayola.

Literal Translation.

B. Now (1) when you had finished off that work of to beat brick (2) you went where?

S. Now (3) we came home (4) we lived again.

B. (5) You lived at home?

S. Yes.

B. It is now (6) you lived completely?

S. Now (7) that we might finish (8) when we came out of there (9) we went to Lusaka (10) we (distance) wanted works others.

B. When (11) you returned from there?

S. (12) When we returned from there (13) that it might us bore

(14) we came home (15) we came to live.

B. (16) You came to live at home. Now (17) you having lived at home (18) there is not when you thought to wait for to the work to the work?

S. (19) When we had lived at home (20) that there might be a little time (21) that we might get bored (22) we went in the road (23) we cleared to burn the big trees there at Kayola.

Translation.

B. Now when you had finished that job of burning bricks where did you go?

S. We came home and rested.

B. You stayed at home?

S. Yes.

B. At that point you stayed for good?

S. Well, after that when we left there we went to Lusaka and looked for other work.

B. And when you came back from there?

S. When we came back from there, when it had become boring, we came home we rested.

B. You came home to rest? Now, having settled down at home did you never think of looking for another job of work?

S. When we had lived at home for a while we got bored and so we went on the road works. We cleared the undergrowth preparatory to burning the big trees there at Kayola.

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1. B. stands for Bernard a teacher from Muumbwa who was questioning Syaakanzaba on my behalf.

2. 'Mwakkalila limwi' - 'You stayed for good' may be compared with what Paulina said in Discourse Prehodiernal Past 4 no.18 'wafwa kufwida limwi' - 'he died'.

Discourse Prehodiernal Past 6.My Holidays in Lusaka. Venelanda Mulangu.

- M.<sup>1</sup> Mbut'ooko nobacembele (1) mwakeenda buti muholiday?
- V. (2) Nitwakajala cikolo (3) ndakaakutantila ku Monze citima  
ncobati ka Railway Car. (4) Twakaakusika kuya mu 7 (5) twakajana  
bantu bakali banji kapati a<sup>c</sup>ipanga hodi. (6) 'Mane (7) twaka-  
lindila kusikila ma...siku. (8) "Mane masiku (8a) nicakasika  
citima (9) tiicakaimikila a Monze pe.
- M. 'No kayi?'
- V. Bantu (10) bakavulide maningi (11) cakaindilila buyo.
- M. (12) Mwaalaani ku Monze?
- V. (13) Twaalaa Cristine Sigande.
- M. A<sup>c</sup>ni?
- V. A<sup>c</sup>kkesin wangu.
- M. Musankwa naa musimbi?
- V. Musankwa.
- M. (14) Wiiya kuli?
- V. (15) Wiiya ku Canisius mu Form 5.
- M. (16) 'No mwaali kwiile kwiimikila antela (17) mwakoona obo  
buzuba ku Monze.
- V. (18) Twakali kwiile kusobana, (19) tiitwakoona pe.
- M. 'N'aawa?
- V. (20) "Mane (21) nibwakaca (22) twakali...(23) nibwakaca cifumofumo  
(24) twakacinca zy<sup>i</sup>nsani nzyitwaasamide nitwakaunka. (25) "Mane  
(26) twaya koo Cristine Sigande, kubapati bak<sup>w</sup>ee ku Compound  
(27) twaakoona a isyikati. (28) 'Mane (29) naakasika 2 o'clock  
(30) twajokela ku Station alimwi.



M. Two o'clock wa<sup>u</sup>masiku?

V. Wasyikati, acilungulungu. (31) 'Mane matiket, (32) twakaulide kale (33) twalindila (34) twainda... (35) naakasika a 4 o'clock (36) kasika kale Rail Car. Mpamunya (37) twaatanta.

M. (38) Mugamayi ciindi eco?

V. Ku Lusaka, mweenzuma (39) waali kuya ku Mazabuka. Pesi (40) kuantanta tiitwaatantila antoomwe, omwe-omwe (41) wakantanta ansini.

M. No kayi?

V. Nkaambo (42) tiitwaalikukonzya kutantila antoomwe, bantu bakali banji kapati.

M. Pesi mukati (43) mwaakuswaangana?

V. (44) Tiitwaaswaangana pe. (45) Twaaswaangana bo a<sup>u</sup>kkesin mukati nkaambo awalo (46) nwyindakamubwene nkwaakatantila. (47) Nitwaka-sika ku Mazabuka ka Rail Car (48) kakaimikila. (49) Nindakasondela anze (50) ndakamubona mweenzuma (51) naakaseluka. Mpamunya (52) wagama nkwaakali kuya. Mpamunya (53) twaaunka, (54) twaakusika ku Lusaka kumazuba so.

M. Ciindinzi?

V. Muma six. Mpamunya (55) twaseluka. Ino (56) notwakaseluka mebo b<sup>u</sup>bokes'lyangu (57) nnyiindakalibwene nkolyaabede.

M. (58) Waalipede ni?

V. (59) Ndaalipede kkesin wangu, 'no (60) taakaliibona pe. Mpamunya (61) twayandaula, (62) twanjila mukati alimwi mucitima. (63) Lyatuzimina. 'No (64) twaseluka biyo.

M. (65) Tolili?

V. (66) Ndakalila we. (66a) Ndakalila we, olo (67) ndile (68) kwiina mbocikonzya kundigwasya. Mpamunya (69) twaunka kuli babeleka waawo acitisyini, (70) twaakubabuzya kuti, 'No kuti wazimininwa cinturkucita buti?' Mpamunya (71) batwaambila ategwa, 'Nkucita

boobo....muumye fone ku Ndola aku Livingstone mwaambe zyintu  
 zyoonse zyili mukati.' Mpamunya (72) twaumya fone pesi zyintu  
 (73) tiitwakazyamba pe. Mpamunya (74) twaunka kunze kukkalila  
 bayi ibacing<sup>ula</sup> bantu kukulanga baacisya.

Literal Translation.

- M. It is how there old lady, (1) you walked how in the holiday?
- V. (2) When we closed the school (3) I (distance) climbed up at Monze  
 the train which they say the little Railway Car. (4) We finally  
 arrived there in 7, (5) we found people they were many very much  
 at the waiting room. (6) That it might finish night (8a) when it  
 arrived the train (9) it did not stop at Monze no.
- M. Now why?
- V. People (10) they were many very much (11) it passed by just.
- M. (12) You were with whom at Monze?
- V. (13) we were with Cristine Sigande.
- M. And whom?
- V. And cousin mine.
- M. A boy or a girl?
- V. A boy.
- M. He learns where? (14)
- V. (15) He learns at Canisius in Form 5.
- M. Now (16) were you just to stand or (17) did you sleep that day at  
 Monze?
- V. (18) We were just to play (19) we did not sleep no.
- M. Now then?
- V. (20) That it might finish (21) when it dawned, (22) we were....  
 (23) when it dawned in the morning (24) we changed the clothes  
 which we were wearing when we set out. (25) That it might finish  
 (26) we went to Cristine Sigande's place, to the big one hers  
 to the Compound (27) we (finally) slept in broad daylight.

(28) That it might finish (29) when it arrived 2 o'clock (30)  
we returned to the Station again.

M. Two o'clock in the night?

V. Of daytime, in the afternoon. (31) That it might finish the  
tickets (32) we had bought already, (33) we waited (34) we passed..  
(35) when it arrived at four o'clock (36) it arrived already  
the Rail Car. Immediately (37) we climbed up.

M. (38) You are going where time that?

V. To Lusaka, friend mine (39) she was to go to Mazabuka. But (40)  
to climb up we did not climb up it together, one-one (41) she got  
up different.

M. Now why?

V. Because (42) we were not to be able to climb up it together,  
people were many very much.

M. But inside (43) you finally met each other?

V. (44) We did not meet each other no, (45) we met with just cousin  
inside, because and he (46) I had not him seen where he climbed  
up. (47) When we arrived to Mazabuka the little Rail Car (48)  
it stopped. (49) When I peered outside (50) I saw friend mine  
when (51) she got down. Immediately (52) she went in the direction  
where she was to go. Immediately (53) we set out, (54) we  
(distance) arrived at Lusaka, in the evening so.

M. Time which?

V. In the six. Immediately (55) we got down. Now (56) when we got down  
me box mine (57) I did not it see where it was.

M. You (58) had it given to whom?

V. (59) I had it given to cousin mine, now (60) he did not it see no.  
Immediately (61) we looked for (62) we entered inside again in the  
train. (63) It us disappeared on. Now (64) we got down just.

M. (65) You are not crying?



V. (66) I wept indeed. (66a) I wept indeed, even though (67) I might weep (68) there is not how it is able to me help. Immediately (69) we went to them who work there at the station (70) we (distance) asked to say, 'Now if you were disappeared on something it is to do how? Immediately (71) they us told there said, 'It is to do thus... let you beat with 'phone to Ndlla and to Livingstone, let you say things all which are inside.' Immediately (72) we beat with 'phone but things (73) we did not them say no. Immediately (74) we went outside where lives the teacher who meets people to look my uncle.

Translation.

M. Well, old lady, what did you do on your holiday?

V. When we closed the school I got on the train at Monze, on the Rail Car. We got there at seven and found that there were great numbers of people in the waiting room. Then we waited until night. Eventually at night the train came but it did not stop.

M. Why not?

V. There were so many people it just passed through.

M. Who were you with at Monze?

V. I was with Cristine Sigande.

M. And who else?

V. My cousin.

M. A boy or a girl?

V. A boy.

M. Where is he at school?

V. He's in Form 5 at Canisius.

M. Did you just stand around or did you sleep at Monze that night?

V. We were just having fun, we didn't go to sleep.

M. And then?

V. Then when day broke, we were... when day broke, in the morning we changed out of the clothes we had been wearing when we set out. Then we went to Cristine Sigande's place, to her elder brother's in the compound and we slept in broad daylight. Then when 2 o'clock came we went back to the station.

M. Two o'clock in the night?

V. In the day, in the afternoon. Then since we had bought the tickets already we waited and waited and when 4 o'clock came the Rail Car arrived. We got on immediately.

M. Where were you going at that time?

V. To Lusaka, my friend was going to Mazabuka. But we did not get on together, everyone got on at different doors.

M. Why?

V. Because we were not able to get on together, there were crowds of people.

M. But you met inside?

V. We did not, I only met my cousin, whom I had not seen get on. When we got to Mazabuka the Rail Car stopped and when I looked out I saw my friend as she got down. She set out immediately for wherever she was going. Then we set out and we eventually got to Lusaka in the evening.

M. At what time?

V. About six. Then we got down. Now when we got down I had not seen my box wherever it was.

M. Who had you given it to?

V. I had given it to my cousin, but he didn't know where it was. We looked for it immediately. We got back on the train but it was gone. So we got down again.

M. You didn't cry?

V. I cried, I did indeed, but crying did not help. Then we went to the people who work at the station and we asked them, 'If something gets lost what do you do?' So they told us, 'Do as follows...ring up Ndola and Livingstone and give a list of the things which are in the box.' So we rang up but we did not give a list. Then we went outside to look for the teacher who meets people to look for my uncle.

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1. M. stands for Mary Ann and V. for Venelanda.



Discourse Prehodiernal Past, 7.The Rain Festival. Mweetwa.

H.<sup>1</sup> Ba Mweetwa mwati inga mulatwaambila lweendo ndumwakeenda kuya  
kwa Monze.

M. Inga ndasola-sola. (1) Twakeenda kabotu-kabotu (2) mane (3) kusik-  
ila ali basyibbuku Beenzu. (4) Nitwakasika alya (5) twakamj<sup>u</sup>jana  
(6) kunyina bantu banji-banji pe. (7) Nitwaakkala-kkala (8)  
bakasika bantu banji-banji, bamwi (( bakali kutwiindilila  
amabbasikkele, naa amacinga. Eno (1) nitwaabona aswebo (11)  
twakaccilila. (12) Twakasika amunzi amwi, akanzi kamwi, (13)  
twaakkala-kkala.

Eno fwala (14) waakumbilwa kuti atolele bamwami Monze ooko  
kwaali kuyoojanika cipobwe. Ino ncobeni fwala (15) taakwe naanga,  
naakaanga wawaya-way<sup>a</sup> pe, (16) wakazumina (16a) bakeenda. Eno swe  
notwakacaala (17) twakalulama biyo abantu boonse baya bakali kuya  
nkuko. Eno (18) twakeenda kabotu-kabotu (19) 'sike (20) twakasika  
abusena awo mpotwakeelede kuti tugwisye mabbusu kumaulu.  
(21) Toonse twakaima-ima (22) akusiya mabbusu esu. Okuya (23)  
twakainka mukunyankulwa (24) nkuya kusunkut<sup>u</sup>ila sunkut<sup>u</sup>ila kutakkala, (25)  
(26) kucita-cita mabbusu oku.

Eno (26) nitwakasika alya (27) twakasoleka kukkala pele (28)  
bakatwaambila kuti, 'Takukkalw<sup>a</sup> makkalwa-kkalwa pe, nkutandabala,  
maulu kaayimvwi.' Eno (29) katucikkede awo (30) kwakasika milongo milon-  
go yabantu, kuleka baabo mbutwakajana bamwi. In'inga bantu (31)  
bacili kooko (32) batalika kuuma nguluulu, bamwi (33) bajisi itu-  
nongo, abalo basyitunongo balo (34) tabazuzi pe mulizyi kale kuti  
naa bazuza bulatikayika bukoko. Eelyo (35) nibakasika awo (36)

bakalulama biyo nkoona awo nkubakeelede kuti babike tunongo oto.

Ino aba bana munji boonse bakali kuuma inguluulu (37) basinguluka  
igonde muli kaanda kal'aako kayeelwa kuti naa mwaswayila Mwami Monze.

(38) Bamana ikuzinguluka igonde, (39) balaboola (40) bakkala  
mbubona bukkede bamwi. Eno boonse baya bakkede (41) balayimba  
inyimbo izyamisyobo-misyobo. (42) Banooyimba buya, bamwi (43)  
balanyamuka (44) akunjila (45) akuzyana.

Literal Translation.

H. Mr. Mweetwa, you say perhaps you will us tell the journey which  
you walked to go to Monze's place.

M. Perhaps I will try-try. (1) We walked well-well, (2) that it  
might finish (3) to arrive to Mr. Headman Beenzue. (4) When we  
arrived there (5) we found (6) there is not people many-many no.  
(7) When we had sat down sat down (8) they arrived people many-  
many, they are some (9) they were us passing by on bicycles or  
bikes. Then (10) when we saw we too (11) we followed. (12) We  
arrived at village one, at little village one (13) we sat down-  
sat down.

Then father (14) he was begged to say let him take with him  
Chief Monze there where was to go and be found the feast.<sup>2</sup> Now  
truly father (15) there is not when perhaps he made difficulties,  
(16) he agreed (16a) they set out. Now we who remained (17) we  
went straight indeed with people they all those who were to go  
there. Now (18) we walked well-well (19) that it might arrive  
(20) we arrived a place there where we ought to say let us take  
off the shoes from the feet. (21) We all we stopped-stopped (22)  
and to leave shoes ours. There (23) we set out in to lift our feet,  
(24) it is to go to limp to limp to not sit (25) to do-do the shoes  
there.

Now (26) when we arrived there (27) we tried to sit down but



(28) they told us to say, 'There is not sat down the sittings-sittings, no, it is to sit legs in front, the legs straight.

(29) Then we still sitting there (30) there arrived lines-lines of people to leave those whom we had found others. Now perhaps the people (31) they still being there (32) they began to beat yodels, they some they (33) have small pots, and they, they people of the pots (34) they do not shake, you know already that if they were to shake the beer will capsize. Then (35) when they arrived there (36) they went straight indeed it is the same there where they ought to say they might put the little pots those. Now all they people many they all who were beating yodels (37) they circled the shrine in where is a little hut but it that it is ought to say if you visit Chief Monze. (38) They having finished to circle the shrine (39) they come (40) they sat down in the same way which sits others. Then all those who were seated (41) they are singing songs of kinds-kinds. (42) They singing continuously just they some (43) they get up (44) and to enter (45) and to dance.

Translation.

H. Mr. Mweetwa will you tell us about your trip to Monze's place?

M. Well, I'll do my best. We went along slowly until we got to Headman Beenzu's. When we got there we found that there were not many people. When we had sat down for a while crowds of people began arriving, some were going by on bicycles. So when we saw them we followed on. We came to a village, a small village and we sat down again for a while.

Then the priest was asked to take the Chief to where the feast meat was to be picked up. The priest did not make difficulties, he agreed and they set out. Now we who remained behind went on



with the people directly to the place where they were going. We went slowly until we got to the place where we were to take off our shoes. Then we set out again, lifting our feet carefully, limping along not sitting down and we then put our shoes in a heap.

When we arrived at the spot we tried to sit down but they told us, 'No ordinary sitting here, sit with your legs in front of you.' While we were still sitting like that there arrived long lines of people as well as those we had found when we arrived. Now, while still in the distance, the people began to yodel, some of them had beer pots, but these did not dance, you know, of course, that if people carrying beer move around too much the beer will spill. Then when they arrived there they went straight to the spot where they were to put the beer pots. So all those who were yodelling circled the shrine. Having finished circling the shrine they came round and sat down like the others. Then all those who were sitting down sang songs of different kinds. While they were singing some got up from time to time, went into the middle and danced.

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1. H. stands for Haantumbu Micelo one of the teachers who had accompanied us to the Rain Festival and who was acting as interviewer.
  2. A local merchant had donated a black cow for the feast but had forgotten to deliver it.

Discourse Prehodiernal Past, 8.The Rain Festival. Haantumbu Micelo.

- M.<sup>1</sup> Ino inga mulatwaambila cakuya kumbele anywebo ba Micelo kayi.
- H. Inzya inga ndamwaambila ncitwakabona. Ino (1) nitwakaya ku...  
 (2) nitwakasika waalya, (3) nitwakali kunga....(4) nitwakazwa  
 kooku kugonde <sup>l</sup>ini lya Mwami Monze Mukulu... Alimwi (5)  
 twakayinduluka nkaambo (6) wakali kunga mulimo biya, (6a)  
 mwaunka kuli boobu kucoonde, (7) mwanamuka (8) mwaya kucoonde  
 kuli boobu. Ino (9) nitwakaunka katatu kuniini mucoonde ca Mwami  
 caniini ca Mwami Ncete (10) twakaakusika kuya. (11) Nitwakaakusika  
 (12) batalika bantu kwiimba nyimbo. (13) Batalika kwiimba nyimbo  
 liya bamwi bamakaintu mukati (14) balazinguluka (15) balazyana.  
 Ono cizyano cabo ncibakali kuzyana inga tabatobel<sup>a</sup>ini mbuli  
 mbotutobelana mbuli zyimwi antela cimwi ciindi mbuli tulyaba pe,  
 balo cizyano cabo ncakwiimpana. (16) Baali kucaamba kuti nkuyubana  
 takutegwa kogama kwagama mweenzyinyoko pe. (17) Baali kuyubana.  
 (18) Ino banikuyubana liya (19) balayimba biya nyimbo zying'aaanji  
 zyakunga aumwi (20) wayeeya ciimbo ncayeeya (21) wazyana (22)  
 wakambilwa. Ino (23) kuli umwi mudaala awalo umwi wakaliko woo  
 (24) wakazyana (25) wakaimba lwiimbo ndubakali kwiimba ciindi  
 naa baunka kwa Monze kuya kukomba.

Literal Translation.

- M. Now perhaps you will tell of to go forward and you Mr. Micelo.
- H. Yes perhaps I will you tell what we saw. Now (1) when we went  
 to... (2) when we arrived there (3) when we were used to... (4)  
 when we came out from there from the shrine true to Chief Monze  
 Mukulu. Again (5) we returned because (6) like work indeed, (6a)



you having gone to thus to the thicket, (7) you got up (8) you went there to the thicket. Now (9) when we set out thirdly to where it is to the thicket of Chief of whom of Chief Ncete, we (distance) (10) arrived there. (11) When we finally arrived (12) they began the people to sing songs. (13) They having begun the people to sing songs then they some women inside (14) they are circling (15) they are dancing. Now dance theirs which they were dancing perhaps they are not following each other as how we follow each other like they others or it sometimes like the tulyaba no, but they dance theirs it is of to be different to one another. (16) They were to it speak to say it is to hide on one another, it is not to say you go where he goes your friend no. (17) They were hiding on each other. Now (18) they hiding on each other thus (19) they are singing songs many-many of like and each having thought of the song of which he thought (21) he danced (22) he was clapped for. Now (23) there is one old man and he one who was there, woo, (24) he danced (25) he sang the song which they used to sing if they went to Monze's place to go to pray.

Translation.

M. Now perhaps you will tell us what went on after that Micelo.

H. Yes, I will tell you what we saw. Now when we went to...

when we got there, when we were going... when we left the real shrine of Chief Monze Mukulu.... Again we circled because what used to happen was when you had gone to that thicket for a while you got up and went to the other. Now on the third trip to Chief.. what's his name, Chief Ncete's shrine we got there eventually. When we did get there the people began singing songs. When they had begun to sing the songs some women went into the middle and began to dance and whirl around. Now in their dance they did



not follow each other as we do in other dances such as the 'tulyaba' dance; their dance consisted of avoiding one another. They were saying it was called the hiding dance, you do not go where your friend goes. They were hiding on each other. Now while they were hiding on each other they sang a great number of songs so that each one as he thought of a song he danced it and was clapped. Now there was one old man, what a man... he danced and sang the song which they used to sing when they were going to Monze's place to pray.

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1. M. stands for Mweetwa the teacher in Discourse Prehodiernal Past 7a.

Discourse Prehodiernal Past, 9.The Rain Festival. Roda Cikuni.

Ino makani ngindakabona anga kuti baya bantu bakali kweeta bukoko

(1) baali kuboola (1a) kuzyila kooko nkobazyila. (2) Balaboola baya

babwezyezye tunongo twabukoko (3) batutula awo mpotweelele kutulwa.

(4) Bamana (5) baakusangana kuli babaya (6) batiyaana, (7) bawolobozya kumwi.

(8) Nobakamana waawo baka... (9) bakaunka nkobakasiile bukoko

batu.... (10) batubweza tumwi tubiya (11) balatila alya amulyango

ayindwa kunjila mukati mwini kumalende awo awayakilwe kaaanda, kwa

Monze ouu Mukulu. (12) Nobakamana kutila bukoko awo (13) twakali

kubuzya, 'ino kayi bukoko mbobatila awa amulyango mbwaanzi?' Bamwi

bacembele (14) bakatupandulwida kuteeti, 'Oobu bukoko ncobutililwa

awa amulyango mbwakuteeti Monze oyu waboola, waboola koonu mukaanda

kakwe kanywa bukoko obu, ncecizyibyo cakumzyibya kuti 'mboobu bukoko

mbotwakubambila, konywa.'

Literal Translation.

Now the affairs which I saw as if to say those people who were bringing

the beer (1) they were to come (1a) to come from there where they

come from. (2) They are coming those who are bearing little pots of

beer (3) they have them put down there where they ought to be put

down. (4) They having finished (5) they having (finally) joined to

those (6) they ran (7) they yodelled the while.

(8) When they finished there they.... (9) they set out for where

they had left the beer, they them... (10) they them lifted up some

small pots (11) they are pouring there at the gate which is gone

through to enter inside really to the shrine there where was built the

little house of Monze this Mukulu. (12) When they finished to pour the

beer there (13) we were asking, 'Now but the beer how they pour here at the door it is for what?'

Some old ladies (14) they to us explained to say that, 'This beer it is why it is poured here at the door it is of to say Monze this he having come, he having come to sleep in little house his let him drink beer this, it is the sign of to him make know to say, 'Here is the beer which we have for you prepared, drink.'

Translation.

Now what I saw was as if those people who were carrying the beer were coming from their own homes. They came carrying pots of beer and put them down at the spot where they were to be deposited. Having finished with the beer and having joined the others they ran round and while they ran they yodelled. When they had finished there they... they went to where they had left the beer they.... they picked up some pots and poured beer there at the gate where people go through to enter into the central part of the shrine where the hut of Monze Mukulu is built. When they finished pouring beer we asked 'But what's the beer they pour at the door for?' Some old ladies explained to us as follows, 'The reason the beer is poured at the door is so that Monze when he comes, when he comes to sleep in his little house he may drink the beer, it's a sign to let him know, 'Here's the beer we have prepared for you, drink'.



Chapter 7Present Narrative7.0 Introduction

The preceding chapters have dealt with discourses narrating past events. In such discourses it was found that there was a great variety of tense forms. Many of these forms appear in situations which seemed to be at variance with their use in isolation or in what might be termed a neutral environment. For example, the -a-, or hodiernal past, was used to refer to events of long ago and the subjunctive which is normally regarded as expressing a wish, command, or possibility, was seen to operate as a past temporal tense. The need for a descriptive model came from the variety of tense forms used and the apparent contradiction between their use in isolation and in past discourse. Control and Subsidiarity was suggested as a model which would give an adequate description of the use of the tense forms as they appeared in discourse while taking into account their use in isolation.

The applicability of the model to present discourses is now examined. First the forms which set the time reference for such discourses will be isolated and then any forms which are interpreted as being under the control of that form will be noted.

7.0.1 Present narrative

Present narrative can be classified under two headings, (a) the narrative of customary events, i.e., those which take place as a rule, or 'as of nature', and (b) the narrative of events which

are taking place at the time of speech, current activity.<sup>1</sup>

To denote customary activity Tonga uses the -la- tense and the -a- past, and to denote current activity it uses the -la- present. Because of the appearance of the -la- present in both situations it is necessary to give some idea of the uses of the form in isolation and also to see how the speaker signals that he is using the -la- form to denote customary or current activity.

In isolation the -la- form occurs in the following ways:

- (i) Ibana baba Tonga balalelwa kuli baacisyanyina -  
Tonga children are reared by their maternal uncles.

In this case the speaker is referring to a rule or custom of Tonga life. When narrating a sequence or series of such events he does not relate them to himself or to his listeners as in past discourse where the -aka- past was seen to relate the time of speech to the time of the event, rather he sets up a relationship between the events narrated. To do this he erects a relative chronology by the use of words such as 'Kusaanguna' 'First of all', or the -la- form with verb roots which indicate the occurrence of one action relative to another, for example, the root - 'taangun-' 'to (do) first' in a sentence such as 'Ulataanguna kubona bazyali bamusimbi' - 'He sees the girl's parents first.'

- (ii) Aaba bana balalelwa kulibaacisyanyina - These children  
are being reared by their uncles.

In this case the speaker is referring to a current activity,

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I have not used the terminology 'progressive and nonprogressive' for these types of activity, since as will be seen Tonga does not distinguish morphologically between progressive and non-progressive.

as is indicated by the use of the demonstrative 'Aaba' 'These'. Words such as 'Ino' - 'Now' are also used and in D. Cur. Activity 1 there is 'Ino mbaaba balakukula..' 'Now here they are they are sweeping...'

(iii) The -la- form is also used to denote proximately future events such as 'Ibaama balaboola kumazuba' - 'Mother will come in the evening'. This use of the -la- form as future will be dealt with in Chapter 8. However, it may also be used to refer to an 'ideal future', for example in discourse Customary Activity 1 there is Kusaanguna imusankwa ulaamba kuli Usyi, 'Taata njanda kukwata'.

This may be interpreted as - First of all a boy says to his father, 'Father I want to marry'.

OR

'The first thing a boy will say to his father is, 'Father I want to marry'.

Having described the different reference possibilities of the -la- form it is now necessary to see how it operates in narratives of customary and current activity. However, as was pointed out above the -la- form is not the only tense form which is used to refer to customary activity, the -a- past is also used for this purpose. In the next section then the tense forms dealing with customary activity will be examined and in the final section the -la- form denoting current activity will be described.

## 7.1 Narrative of customary events

### 7.1.1 -la- form controlling

The first discourse chosen to exemplify the use of the -la- form to denote customary activity is taken from Cassiano (cf. Discourse Customary Activity 1 at end of Chapter). This man was an electrician working at Chikuni, a large mission station on the Plateau



in the chieftaincy of Ufwenuka. He had been born in the neighbouring chieftaincy of Chona, had been educated to primary level and then done two years training as an electrician. Having worked in various parts of Zambia he returned to live as near as possible to his home area when a suitable job offered. While both himself and his wife were go-ahead people they prided themselves on their knowledge of Tonga customs.

The first section of the narrative is given so as to have some idea of the variety or lack of variety in the use of the tense forms. In this discourse Cassiano is complying with a request I made to him to describe the Tonga custom of betrothal and he begins with the boy going to his father to ask him to initiate proceedings with the parents of the girl he wishes to marry.

Kusaanguna imusankwa (1) ulaamba kuti, 'Taata, njanda kukwata.

Usyi ulavuwa (3) kwaamba kuti, 'Uyanda kukwata mwan'aangu?'

(4) Kuti, 'Inzya'.

'Kumwana ani?'

Mwana(5)ulavuwa kuti, 'Mwana andaba.'

'Hena mulayandana?'

(6) Ulaamba, 'Inzya tu<sup>1</sup>layandana.'

#### Literal Translation.

To be first the boy (1) he speaks to say, 'Father, I want to marry.'

His father (2) he replies (3) to speak to say, 'You want to marry child mine?'

(4) To say, 'Yes.'

'To child of whom?'

The child (5) he replies to say, 'The child of so and so.'

'?<sup>1</sup> You love one another?'

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<sup>1</sup> ? before a statement in the literal translation indicates that 'hena', the question marker in Tonga, has been used.

(6) He speaks, 'Yes, we love one another.'

Translation.

First of all the boy says to his father, 'Father I want to get married.'

His father answers, 'You want to marry my boy?'

And he says, 'Yes I do.'

'To whose daughter?'

'So and so's', replies the boy.

'Are you in love with one another?'

The boy says, 'Yes, we are.'

The -la- form is described as the controlling tense from here and there is but one instance of subsidiarity, namely at (4) where there is the unstablised infinitive 'kuti' - 'to say', which is interpreted as 'he says'. The interpretation of this form as a past tense was examined in Chapter 6.1. The same arguments hold here for its interpretation as a present tense. It is marked for neither subject or tense but the only substitution for it would be the present tense with -la- e.g., 'ulati' - 'he says'.

The use of the infinitive at (3) 'kwaamba kuti' is not interpreted as functioning as a subsidiary form since it could be substituted for by the present participle 'kaamba kuti' - 'saying'.

In this discourse there is but one instance of control (cf. (4) above). This may be accounted for by the fact that the discourse narrative is carried out by the use of the -la- form in all but one instance i.e., at (9) and (10) which will be dealt with below.

In using the -la- form to deal with customary activity Cassiano is not dealing with any particular boy or with a particular situation, he is giving general rules of behaviour from which a boy who wished to become betrothed might work out what he should do. It was said

above that in such a situation the -la- form does not refer to any particular time of event and that therefore the relationship to one another of the events described would be signalled by the use of words indicating relative chronology. To do this Cassiano uses the following:

before (1) there is 'kusaanguna' - 'First of all'

before (7) there is 'mpoon'aawo' - 'Then'

before (8) there is 'Kusaanguna' - 'Firstly'

These indications of relative chronology fulfill in such narratives a role similar to that played by the reversion to the -aka- form correlated with a change of subject which was noted in Chapter 2.1.2.1 in that they indicate a shift of attention as well as relating the events to one another.

The only exception to the use of the -la- form for the narrative verbs was at (9) and (10), where there is an instance of the conditional with the protasis in the Future Past Participle and the -a- past in the apodosis. Here Cassiano is breaking away from the treatment of his subject as a series of rules and speaking as if he were dealing with a specific case. This use of the conditional to speak of customary action will be examined in 7.1.2.1.

A further example of the -la- form used to narrate customary action is taken from an essay written by a boy of about eighteen. This essay was chosen because it was typical of the style used in writing about Tonga Customs (it was one of thirty entries in a competition) and because it deals with funeral customs, a subject also dealt with by Paulina in 7.1.2 but where the -a- past is used.

The narrative begins with a description of what happens the morning after the death of a husband of a family. At dawn the 'widow's



dancer' (companion) comes out of the widow's house and takes the dead man's spears to the grave.

(1) Bwaca buyo sikumuzembelezwa mukamufu (2) ulazwa cifumo (3) kalitanazwa zyuba antela (4) noolyazwa zyuba. (5) Ulabweza sumo (6) ulalitola kucuumbwe. (7) Asika acuumbe (8) ulalidiimika sumo nkolili kulubemba, (9) ulalityola lusaka, (10) ulalileta kunhanda (11) ulaliyaamika kuntumba munhanda.

#### Literal Translation.

(1) It having dawned just the one who dances the wife dead person (2) comes out on the morrow (3) it not yet having come out the sun, or (4) when it has come out the sun. (5) She picks up the spear (6) she it takes to the grave. (7) She having arrived at the grave (8) she it drives spear, it is to the joint again (9) she it breaks the shaft, (10) she it brings to the house (11) she it leans against the dish in the house.

#### Translation.

As it dawns the following day the widow's dancer goes out, either before the sun has risen, or when it has already done so. She picks up a spear and takes it to the grave. Having arrived at the grave she drives the spear into the ground as far as the joining between the head and the shaft and breaks off the shaft. She brings the shaft to the house and <sup>lays</sup> it across the dish.

This passage has no instances of ~~sub~~subsidiarity but was quoted because it shows the close parallel between the written and spoken form when dealing with customary activity. In the past narrative it was the discrepancy between the written and the spoken form which was a contributing factor in questioning the labels normally used for Tonga tense forms. Here, however, there is little difference to be noted between written and spoken narrative. The use of the Future Past Participle at (1) and (7) to mark relative chronology may be taken

as equally applicable to spoken narrative.

Again it will be noted that there is little variety in the use of tense forms and the hodiernal past temporal at (4) is the form which would be expected in that position.

However, as has been noted the -la- present tense is not the only form used for customary action and the next sections deal with the -a- past used for this purpose.

#### 7.1.2 The -a- past controlling

The -la- past, it was said, set out a series of rules for customary action without reference to any particular situation. In the next discourse there is a more personalised way of looking at the same kind of narrative. This extract is taken from the discourse of Paulina Mukansefwa (cf. Chapter 2). In this present discourse Paulina is telling her children what happens at funerals. At this point she is describing how the widow's companion takes the widow into the house and then how the relatives come and take the woman forth to the grave.

Ooyu mukaintu nguwana wakutolede kunze kukuyubila (1) wakutola munhanda. (2) Wakusiya munhanda mokaala (3) kolila mulum'aako ufwide. Ino (4) kwaboola ibamwi bamukowa ako (5) kuti kabaliko (6) bakubweza (7) bakutola anze. Ayebo (8) watembwa (9) kovumbidwe kuneso (10) kotakubwene kuti nkwenja nkuli.

#### Literal Translation.

This woman the same who had taken you behind to you hide (1) she has taken you into the house. (2) She you left in the house wherein you sit (3) you weeping husband yours who is dead. Now (4) there came others of your clan (5) if they are there (6) they you lift<sup>ed</sup> up (7) they you took outside. And you (8) you were carried (9) you covered the eyes (10) you not seeing to say it is where I am going it is where.

### Translation

The same woman who had hidden you behind the house takes you into the house. She leaves you inside where you sit weeping for your husband. Then there come some of your clan if they are there and they lift you up and carry you outside. You are carried in their arms with your eyes covered so that you do not see where you are going.

The effect of the use of the -a- past here is to personalise the discourse. Paulina addresses her listeners as if one of them were the widow. This is probably explainable by the fact that she herself had been widowed about two years previously and was speaking from personal experience. By using the -a- past Paulina treats each event as if it were single and complete, while the -la- form did not denote the events in that way. This may be seen to be similar to the reference of the -a- form compared with the -la- form when both were used in dealing with events of long ago (cf. Chapter 4).

As in the previous two discourses there is little variety in the use of the tense forms. The narrative is carried forward by the -a- past with the participles used for elaboration. There is, therefore, no evidence of subsidiarity in this particular treatment of customary action. However, there is another use of the -a- past in customary action where the form is used as part of a conditional and in this section there will be forms used in subsidiary function.

#### 7.1.2.1 The -a- past in conditionals

A head-man, Mujazyaliso was asked to give an account of Tonga customs of inheritance and he began by saying:

- (1) Kuti wafwa mudaala, wafwa ujisi lubono inga mwamuzikka.

#### Literal Translation.

- (1) If he having died an old man, he having died who has wealth  
(2) perhaps you have him buried.



Translation.

If a wealthy old man were to die you would bury him.

This first sentence is a conditional of a type not encountered before in this study and it is used in circumstances which are slightly different to those in which the conditionals so far seen operate. In Chapter 5 there was the present conditional<sup>1</sup> and this would be used as follows:

Kuti uunke ulamujana - If you go to Monze you will find him.

This would be said to someone who was looking for a particular person and who wanted to know where to go to find him.

Kuti waunka ku Monze inga mwamujana - If you went to Monze you would find him. In this conditional the speaker is not envisaging that the person spoken to intends to go to Monze; he is merely stating where a certain person might be found.

Mujazyaliso in choosing to use this conditional is envisaging what would happen at the death of any old man who died rather than a particular individual. Having stated that the old man would be buried he continues on to deal with what happened afterwards:

(3) Mwamana kumuzikka (4) nkumulila, (5) nkujaya nhombe (6) naa ulivubile (7) nkujaya nhombe, naa zyili sikisi, naa zyili zyosanwe naa zyili zyone.

Literal Translation.

You having buried him (4) it is to him weep, (5) it is to kill cattle (6) if he is wealthy (7) it is to kill cattle, if they are six,

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<sup>1</sup> Collins, p. 56.

or if they are five or if they are four.

Translation.

Having buried him you would mourn him, you would kill cattle.

If he is wealthy you would kill cattle, maybe six, or five or four.

At (4), (5) and (7) there are instances of the stabilised infinitive which are described as being under the control of the -a-past at (2) 'you would bury him'. The Participle (tense 34 at (3)) indicates merely that the burial is prior to the killing of the cattle.

It was said in Chapter 6.1 that the stabilised infinitive is not marked for subject or tense and that when it is used as a tense form these are inferred from its controlling form. In this case the interpretation that the stabilised infinitive is used as a tense form is demanded by the fact that the participle at (3) is not acceptable as the main verb in the sentence and that the only substitutable form for the stabilised infinitive is (4) inga mwamulila - you would mourn him, (5) inga mwajaya nhombe - you would kill cattle, (7) inga mwajaya nhombe - you would kill cattle.

Mujazyaliso does not, however, restrict himself to this conditional in dealing with customary action. In the sentence following that just quoted he breaks into the type used by Paulina in 7.1.2.

Ino kunze lya<sup>2</sup>boobo, (8) kwanyandaulwa mapopwe (9) kwanyugwa mweesyo.

Literal Translation.

Now, behind that, there was looked for maize, (9) there was drunk the month's mind.

Translation.

In addition that that maize is gathered and the month's mind is drunk.

Customary action as has been seen is denoted by either the -la- present or the -a- past. There have been some instances of subsidiarity both after the -la- present and the -a- past. In dealing with present narrative it now remains to examine the -la- present referring to current activity.

## 7.2 Current activity

### 7.2.1. The -la- present commenting on current activity

By comment on current activity is meant comment on activity which is taking place in front of the speaker and listeners or in front of the speaker only while he comments on it for the benefit of the listener (e.g., a radio commentary on a football match). The following discourses have been chosen to exemplify the sequence of tenses used in such situations.

Discourse Current Activity 1. (D.Cur.A.1) a commentary by a teacher trainee on the Rain Festival at which we were present and which we were recording for the benefit of the other students of the college who were unable to attend.

Discourse Current Activity 2. (D.Cur.A.2) - a commentary by a teacher on a wall-chart she was using to name objects and activities for a group of people learning Tonga.

The first example of the -la- present used for comment on current activity is taken from the speech of Haantumbu Micelo (cf. Chapter 2). While we were at the ceremony I had told him to talk about what was happening before his eyes, and while he did so I recorded what he was saying. The part of the ceremony occurring at the time was the clearing up of the leaves around the central hut. This clearing up of the leaves was done by hand, the use of brushes or twigs being forbidden. As the people moved towards us pushing the leaves in front of them he says:



Ino mbaaba boonse bantu (4) balakukula amaanza (5) baambilwa kuti, 'Nyoonse musaangune kukukula'nibasika.

Literal Translation.

Now here they are all people (4) they are sweeping by hands (5) they have been told that, 'You all you first to sweep' when they arrived.

Translation.

Now here are all the people sweeping by hand, they had been told when they arrived 'First of all you must sweep'.

It was said in 7.0.1 that the reference of the -la- present tense form to current activity was helped by the use of demonstratives. In this case we have 'mbaaba' - 'here they are'.

The -la- tense form is used in all the other narrative forms either in its strong form, i.e., with -la- or in its weak form, i.e., without -la- as at (8).

Ino (8) tukukwida kokuno kucilawo kuli kaanda.

Literal Translation.

Now (8) we are sweeping here to the place where there is a small house.

Translation.

Now we are sweeping here where there is a hut.

This weak form has the same time reference as the -la- form but puts the emphasis on the word which follows. It has been established already at (4), (5) and (6) that the people are sweeping and at this point what the speaker wishes to stress is where they are sweeping.

There are no instances of subsidiarity in this passage. A similar pattern emerges in the second discourse on current activity. This is a description of a wall-chart depicting an African village. The narrative forms are in the present tense either weak or strong with

demonstratives to indicate what is being talked about.

D. Cur. A. 2

A<sup>^</sup>cipikica awa tulabona munzi wabantu. A<sup>^</sup>munzi awa kusaiti  
lyakumbo (2) tulakonzya kubona nhombe zytatwe. Nhombe ezyi  
(3) zyilacela; zyili musyokwe (4) zyice<sup>^</sup>la mani.

Literal Translation.

In picture there (1) we see a village of the people. In village  
here to the side of the west (2) we can to see cattle three.  
Cattle these (3) they are grazing; they are in the bush (4) they  
are grazing grass.

Translation.

In the picture here we see an African village. To the west of  
the village we can see three cattle. The cattle are grazing, they are  
eating grass.

Where the -a- past or the -aka- past occur they have the reference  
which is normally associated with these tense forms and so there are  
no instances of subsidiarity.

Mpongo zyobilo (7) zyilacela; yomwe (8) ilangika anga (9) yazwa  
munhanda iili mulubuwa. Nhanda yabwizu iili kumbo (10) yakayasyi-  
gwa azyisamu.

Literal Translation.

Goats two (7) they are grazing, one (8) it looks as if (9) it  
has come out of the house which is in the yard. The house of  
grass which is to the west (10) was built with poles.

Translation.

Two of the goats are grazing and the other looks as if it has just  
come out of the house in the yard. The ~~thatched~~ house to the west  
was built with poles.

In this extract there is the -a- past following on the weak

present at (8) but its interpretation is that of current relevance which is one of the aspects of the -a- past in isolation. The -aka- past at (10) has the normal time reference associated with that tense form.

From what has been seen of the narration of current activity it may be said that the -la- tense form either strong or weak is used to denote the activities in question. To indicate that current activity is, in fact, denoted the demonstratives are used.

### 7.3 Summary

Present Narrative was divided into the narrative of customary events or current activity. For both customary and current relevance the -la- form is used and indications were given as to how speakers or writers signalled which type of action was meant. To indicate customary activity the -a- past was also used.

For both types of action the narrative is normally carried forward by one form, i.e., either the -la- or the -a- form, and there is little variety of choice exercised. Except in the case of customary action denoted by the -la- form and the -a- form as controlling there is little evidence of subsidiarity, but it is applicable in those cases.

Correlatively there is little evidence for describing forms in terms of control as the -la- or -a- forms in the discourses are repeated for virtually every narrative form.

It must be remembered that the concept of control and subsidiarity was set up to describe instances where forms were used in ways which seemed to contradict their function in a neutral environment. Where a form may be interpreted in terms of its use in isolation there will be little need to invoke the model as a descriptive device.



Discourse Customary Action 1.Betrothal Long Ago. Cassiano.

Kusaanguna imusankwa (1) ulaamba kuti, 'Taata, njanda kukwata'.

Usyi (2) ulavuwa (3) kwaamba kuti, 'Uyanda kukwata mwan'aangu?'

(4) Kutu, 'Inzya.' 'Kumwana ani?'

(5) Mwana ulavuwa kuti, 'Mwana andaba.'

'Hena mulayandana?'

(6) Ulaamba, 'Inzya tualyandana.'

'No ulayanda kuti nakweebele?'

'Inzya ba-Taata.'

Mpoona awo Usyi (7) ulaunka kubazyali bamusimbi. Kusaanguna (8) ulabona

Usyi musimbi. (9) Naa wasika (10) baamba kuti, 'Nceeci cuuno.'

(11) Ulaamba kuti, 'Peepe, ndakkala ansi'.

Literal Translation.

To first boy (1) he speaks to say, 'Father, I want to marry.'

His father (2) he replies (3) to speak to say, 'You want to marry child mine?'

(4) To say, 'Yes.' 'To child of whom?'

(5) The child replies to say, 'The child of so and so.'

? You love one another?'

(6) He speaks, 'Yes, we love one another.'

'Now you want, to say I you arrange marriage for?'

'Yes, my father.'

Exactly there his father (7) he goes to parents of the girl. To first

(8) he sees her Father girl. (9) If, having arrived (10) they are saying to say, 'Here is a chair.'

(11) he says to say, 'No, I shall sit on the ground.'

Translation.

First of all, a boy says, 'Father, I want to marry.'

The father answers saying, 'You want to marry, my child?'

And he says, 'Yes, I do.'

'To whose daughter?'

The boy replies, 'So and so's.'

'Do you love one another?'

He says, 'Yes, we do.'

'Now do you want me to make the arrangements?'

Yes, Father.'

Then the father goes to the girl's parents. First of all he sees the girl's father. Granted he's arrived, they will say, 'Here's a chair.'

He says, 'No, thank you, I'll sit on the ground.'



Discourse Customary Activity 2.Tonga Burial. Jakopo Mweempwa.

(1) Bwaca buyo sikumuzembezeza mukamufu (2) ulazwa cifumo (3) kalitana-  
zwa zyuba antela (4) noolyazwa zyuba. (5) Ulabweza sumo (6) ulalitola  
kucumbwe. (7) Asika acumbwe (8) ulalidiimika sumo nkolili kulubemba  
alimwi (9) ulalityola lusako, (10) ulalileta kunhanda (11) ulaliyaamika  
kuntumba munhanda.

(12) Amana booboo (13) ulabweza mazumo amufu amwi, (14) ulamupa  
mukaintu uujikila mukamufu, (15) balayandaula mancanya musyokwe,  
(16) balaaleta munhanda. Ooyo uujikila (17) ulaanga masumo loozi  
lwamu sekese.

Sikuzembezeza (18) ulabikka mukabiya mancanya. (19) Amana  
(20) ulabikka masizi amulilo mukabiya kajisi mancanya. Aaka kabiya  
(21) kakkala muns'aamukamufu lyoonse. Mukamufu (22) nayanda kuzwa  
akkalile anze (23) ulataanguna sikumuzembezeza kuzwa, (24) ulazwisya  
masumo aangidwe loozi, (25) ulaayaamika amulyango.

Literal Translation.

(1) It having dawned just the one who dances the wife dead person  
(2) comes out on the morrow (3) it not yet having come out the sun,  
or (4) when it has come out the sun. (5) She picks up the spear (6)  
she it takes to the grave. (7) She having arrived at the grave (8)  
she it drives spear, it is to the joint again (9) she it breaks the  
shaft, (10) she it brings to the house (11) she it leans against the  
dish in the house.

(12) She having finished thus (13) she picks up spears of the dead  
person other, (14) she her gives the woman who cooks for wife of the  
dead person, (15) they look for herbs in the bush (16) they them bring



to the house. That one she who cooks (17) she ties spears fibres of musekese.

The one who dances (causes to dance) (18) she puts in a small pot the herbs. (19) She having finished (20) she puts brands of fire in the small pot which has the herbs. This small pot (21) it rests near to the wife of the dead person always. The wife of the dead person (22) when she wants to go outside (23) that she may sit outside (23) she first the one who her dances to go out (24) she takes out the spears tied with fibres, (25) she then leans against the door.

Translation.

As it dawns the following day the widow's dancer goes out, either before the sun has risen, or when it has done so. She picks up a spear and takes it to the grave. Having arrived at the grave she drives the spear into the ground as far as the joining between the head and the shaft and breaks off the shaft. She brings the shaft to the house and <sup>lays</sup> ~~lies~~ it across the dish.

Having finished that, she takes the other spears of the dead man and gives them to the woman who is cooking for the widow. She then goes off looking for herbs in the bush and brings them back to the house. The one who is cooking ties up the spears with fibres from the musekese tree.

The dancer puts the herbs in a small pot and having done that she puts brands of fire into the pot. This pot is left beside the widow all the time. Whenever she wants to go out to sit outside the dancer goes first, picks up the bound spears and leans them against the door post.

Discourse Current Activity 1.

The Rain Festival. Haantumbu Micelo.

(1) Ino tuyanda... toonse (2) twanyamusigwa kwaamba kuti kukukula  
amaanza kugonde lyoonse mbolibede. (3) Talikukulwi azyisamu pe,  
amaanza. Ino mbaaba boonse bantu (4) balakukula amaanza, (5) baambilwa  
kuti, 'Nyoonse musaangune kukukula' nibasika. Ono (6) balakukula  
zyilawo, (7) tacili cilawo comwe pe, zyilawo zyili zyobilo mbuli  
zyuumbwe mbozyili zyobilo zyili kokuno. Ino nkotubede (8) tukukwida  
kokuno kucilawo kuli...kaanda. (9) Bamwi bakukwida kuli kucuulu kumwi  
(10) cakali...cakali cuumbwe (11) cimane (12) caba cuulu sunu.

Literal Translation.

(1) Now we want.... we all (2) we have been got up to speak to say  
to sweep with the hands to the shrine all as it is. (3) It is not  
swept with twigs no, with the hands. Now here they are they all people  
(4) they are sweeping with the hands (5) they have been told that  
'You all, let you first to sweep' when they arrived. Now (6) they  
sweep the places (7) it is not place one no, places are two as graves  
as they are two which are here. Now where we are (8) we are sweeping  
here to the place where...hut. (9) Some are sweeping to...to the ant  
hill the while (10) which was....which was a grave (11) when it had  
finished (12) it has become an ant hill today.

Translation.

Now we want....we all (2) we have been got up to speak to say  
to sweep with the hands to the shrine all as it is. (3) It is no  
swept with twigs no, with the hands. Now here they are they all  
people (4) they are sweeping with the hands (5) they have been told  
that 'You all, let you first to sweep' when they arrived. Now (6)

they sweep the places (7) it is not place one no, places are two as graves as they are two which are here. Now where we are (8) we are sweeping here to the place where...hut. (9) Some are sweeping to...to the ant hill the while (10) which was....which was a grave (11) when it had finished (12) it has become an ant hill today.

Translation.

Now we want....we were all got up and told to sweep the whole shrine by hand. It is not swept by twigs but by hand. Now here are all the people sweeping by hand, they had been told when they arrived, 'All of you must first sweep'. So they are sweeping both places. There is not just one place but two since there are two graves here. Now we are sweeping here where there is a...hut. The others are sweeping where there is a...an ant hill which was a...which was a grave and has by now become an ant hill.



Discourse Current Activity 2.A Village. Yolante Muntanga.

A<sup>~</sup>cipikica awa tulabona (1) munzi wabantu. A<sup>~</sup>munzi awa kusaiti lyakumbo (2) tulakonzya kubona nhombe zytatwe. Nhombe ezyi (3) zyi-lacela; zyili musyokwe (4) zyicela mani. Alimwi kusaiti lyamusanza lyan-hombe (5) tulakonzya kubo<sup>~</sup>an maanda abwizu obilo. Anhandu iili kumbo (7) tulakonzya kubona mpongo zytatwe. Mpongo zyobilo (8) zyilacela; yomwe (8) ilangika anga (9) yazwa munhandu iili mulubuwa. Nhanda yabwizu iili kumbo (10) yakayasyigwa azyisamu. Anhandu yamasenke (11) tulabona mudaala (12) ulikkele akauno. Maanda aya obile amasenke, amanda aya obile abwizu (13) aliindeene. Nhanda yabwizu window tailibonyi (14) pe; ili mukati abwizu kubwanda bwazyisamu. Iwindow eli (15) tuliita kuti nimpulungwido.

Maritina. Anze anhandu yamasenke (16) tubonanzi?

Yolante. Anze anhandu yamasenke (17) tulabona mudaala (18) ulikkele akauno, kumwi (19) ulilisiminide agondo, kumwi kuboko (20) ujisi kasamu mukwanza.

Literal Translation.

In picture there (1) we see a village of the people. In village there to the side of the west (2) we can to see cattle three. Cattle these (3) they are grazing; they are in the bush (4) they are grazing grass. Again to the side of the south of the cattle (5) we can see houses of grass two. At the house which is to the west (6) we are able to see goats three. Goats two (7) they are grazing; one (8) it looks as if (9) it has come out of the house which is in the yard. The house of grass which is to the west was (10) built with poles. At the house of galvanised (11) we see an old man he is (12) sitting

on a little chair. Houses these two of galvanised and houses these two of grass they (13) are different. House of grass the window (14) it is not seen no it is inside of the grass on the wall of poles. Window this (15) we it call to say a window opening.

Maritina. Outside of the house of galvanised (16) we see what?

Yolanthe. Outside of the house of galvanised (17) we see an old man (18) he is sitting on a small chair, and at the same time (19) he is leaning on his knee, and at the same time the arm (20) he has a little stick in the hand.

Translation.

In the picture here we see an African village. To the west of the village we can see three cattle. The cattle are grazing, they are eating grass. Again to the south of the cattle we can see two thatched houses. Beside the western house we can see three goats. Two of the goats are grazing and the other looks as if it has just come out of the house in the yard. The thatched house to the west was built with poles. Beside the house with the galvanised iron roof we can see an old man sitting on a stool. The two houses with the galvanised iron roofs and the two thatched houses are different. The window of the thatched house is not visible, it is hidden in the thatch. Such a window we call an opening.

Maritina. What do we see outside the house with the galvanised iron roof?

Yolanthe. Outside the house with the galvanised iron roof we see an old man sitting on a stool; he is leaning on his knee and in his hand he has a stick.

## Chapter 8

### Control and Subsidiarity in Future Narrative

#### 8.0 Introduction

Having applied the concept of Control and Subsidiarity to past and present narratives it is now necessary to examine its applicability to the forms dealing with the future. It was seen that the concept of control and subsidiarity had a wide application in narratives dealing with past events while in present narrative there were fewer instances where it was called into play. This occurred presumably because in the latter there were fewer forms used and the majority of those which did could be described in terms of their use in isolation.

In discourse dealing with future events it will be necessary first to examine the tense forms which in isolation refer to the future and then to see if there are other tense forms used with a future reference which they do not have outside discourses which are concerned with future events.

#### 8.1 The -la- future

It has been mentioned already (cf. Chapter 7) that the -la- form in isolation may refer to a future event. This use of the -la- tense is largely, though not exclusively, confined to proximately future events, e.g.,

Balajikanzi baama? What will mother cook?

The future reference of the -la- form here is heavily dependent on the context. In this particular instance the children had been discussing what their mother would buy at the store and when she would be home to prepare the evening meal.



However, it is not only the context which will indicate that the -la- form is meant to refer to the future, it is frequently shown to have a future reference by the use of time words as, for example,

Balaboola ino-ino. They are coming now/ They will be here shortly.

This would be said of someone who was expected home soon.

The -la- form may also refer to a more remote future event when the speaker is not certain whether the event will take place or not and here again the form is dependent on a time word to show its future reference, e.g.,

Balaboola juunza antela. They will come tomorrow perhaps.

The need for either extra-linguistic evidence or for time-words to indicate that the -la- form denotes the future comes from the fact that sentences such as, 'Baama balajika' may mean either (a) Mother is cooking, (b) Mother cooks (rather than doing something else), and (c) Mother will cook.

#### 8.1.1 The -la- form as 'idealised future' (controlling)

It was said in Chapter 7 that the -la- form might be interpreted as referring to an idealised future: thus the discourse of Cassiano narrating how a boy should go about getting betrothed might have been interpreted in the future rather than in the present. In this way there would have been,

Kusaanguna musankwa ulaamba kuti, 'Taata njanda kukwata'.

Usyi (2) ulavuwa (3) kwaamba kuti, 'Uyanda kukwata mwan'aangu?'

(4) Kutu, 'Inzya'.

#### Translation.

First of all a boy will say, 'Father, I want to marry'. His father will answer saying, 'You want to marry my boy?' And he will reply, 'Yes'.

In Chapter 7, the infinitive 'kuti' - 'to say' at (4) was interpreted as being under the control of the -la- as a present tense, here it is interpreted as being under the control of the same tense form interpreted as a future.

However, the -la- form as a future tense has a very limited application and the more usual way to refer to the future in Tonga is by the use of compound tenses which will be examined in the next section.

#### 8.2 The -ya ku- and -na ku- forms

The compound tense forms are best exemplified from an article in the Tonga language newspaper 'Intanda'. This extract is taken from the edition which appeared on June 22nd, 1972. It tells of the forthcoming arrival of a team of people from Lusaka who will enrol youths in the Zambian National Service. The team was due to arrive in Livingstone on 5th July and would stay in Livingstone during the 5th and 6th.

Livingstone; Nkamu yabantu iya bulembya bantu bayanda kunji-la mu Zambia National Service kuzwa ku Lusaka (1) iya kutalika kulemba bantu bali mwaanda ujisi amakumi osanwe (150) mu province lino kuzwa mu July 5, 1972.

Mkamu eyi (2) inakuli ku Livingstone mu July 5 a 6 kuopesi Iya District Secretary. Mu Livingstone mulikke kuya kulembezye-gwa balombwana bali makumi obile abane (24).

#### Literal Translation.

Livingstone: The team of people which goes writing people who want to enter in the Zambia National Service to come from Lusaka (1) it will begin to write people who are one hundred which has and tens five (150) in the province now to come from in July 5, 1972.

Team this (2) it will be in Livingstone in July 5 and 6 at the office of the District Secretary. In Livingstone alone (3) there

is going to be written young men who are tens two and four (24).

Translation.

Livingstone: The team from Lusaka which enrolls people who want to enter the Zambia National Service will begin the enrolment of 150 people from this province on July 5th, 1972.

The team will be in Livingstone all day on the 5th and 6th at the office of the District Secretary. In Livingstone alone twenty four (24) youths will be signed on.

At (1) and (3) there are examples of what is commonly called the -ya ku- future tense. This compound tense form is made up of the verb '-ya' - 'to go' followed by the infinitive. Its function is to state that someone or something or other will take place in the future. It does not take into account whether the event denoted is to be of long or short duration, it merely notes its inception in the future.

In (2), however, what is referred to is the expectation that they, the members of the team, will be in Livingstone all of the 5th and 6th. While it is manifest that the 5th and 6th of July are future to the time of writing it is not only this aspect that is considered but also the continuousness of their being in the town. In this way, 'ina kuli ku Livingstone' may be interpreted as 'it will be in Livingstone (all day) on the 5th and 6th.'

An example from another context will help to clarify this:

'Tuya kukkala ku Monze' - 'We are going to live in Monze.'

Here it is understood that 'we' are living somewhere other than Monze and intend moving to that town to live.

'Tuna kukkala ku Monze' - 'We will (always) live in Monze'.

It is not known from what is said here whether, in fact, the speakers live in Monze or not at the time of speech; what is expressed is their intention to live there always either as a continuation of what



they are doing already or as something new.

The difference between the two tense forms referring to the future might be summarised by saying that the -ya ku- future refers to the inception of an action or state while the -na ku- form refers to the continuation of an action or state in the future whether or not the action has already commenced at the time of speech.

In the article referred to above there were no examples of subsidiarity. It remains to be seen whether this is typical of how the future tense forms function.

#### 8.2.1 Speaker 1

The first example is a dialogue between two girls in Form 3. They were about sixteen years of age and they were discussing whether to continue on in school the following year or to look for a job. Having chatted for a while Praxaedes asked Agnes:

P. (1) Ino waakumanizya cikolo (2) uyeeya kuti (3) uyakucita mulimonzi?

A. (4) me ndaakumanizya cikolo mulimo kapati ngweyeeya kuti (5) ndikacite (6) nkuba mu Nurse.

P. Ikul'ooku?

A. (7) Ndisyoma kuti (8) ndiyootola<sup>1</sup> course lyangu ku Kasempa.

#### Literal Translation.

P. (1) Now you having finally finished school (2) you are thinking that (3) you will do/you are going to do work what?

A. (4) Me I having finally finished school the work mostly which I think that (5) I may do (6) it is to become a nurse.

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In different parts of Tongaland the -ya becomes a yoo followed either by the infinitive or by the stem of the verb. With the verb -boola - 'to come' the auxiliary '-zyi' is sometimes used. '-zyi' becomes -zoo followed by either the infinitive or the stem of the verb. In the Valley -zoo is used with verbs other than -boola.

P. Where there?

A. (7) I am hoping that (8) I shall take/I am going to take course mine at Kasempa.

Translation.

P. Now when you have finished school what are you thinking of doing?

A. Me, when I have finished school what I am thinking of becoming is a nurse.

P. Where?

A. I'll take the course at Kasempa I think.

In this conversation there are two examples of the -ya ku-future tense forms (cf. Note 1 on previous page for -yoo + stem), and again there are no examples of subsidiarity.

8.2.2 Speaker 2

One further example of the future tense forms is given and in this Praxaedes is asking another girl what she intends to do when she leaves school. The girl's reply only is given.

Brigita. Ndiza (1) twaakumana kumamanin'aamwaka ndiza (2) tuyaku- pegwa izyipepa izyakuti (3) katunikuyakubeleka kabotu.

Literal Translation.

Perhaps (1) we having finished at the end of the year perhaps (2) we are going to be given papers of to say (3) we to be always to be going to work well.

Translation.

I expect that, when we have finished school we'll get certificates to say that we will be satisfactory workers.

At (2) there is a further example of the -ya ku-future tense form followed by the participle<sup>at (3)</sup>. This participle is mentioned because it is made up of a conflation of tense forms when -ni kuya-'always to be going' is followed by the infinitive 'kubeleka' - 'to work'. However, this since it is a participle is not considered to

be a subsidiary form.

These examples of the future tense forms in Tonga are typical. My records on this point are very extensive as I did a survey among town and country dwellers to determine changes in Tonga caused by living in close contact with other languages. One of the questions I asked of all the some sixty informants was what they intended doing in the future and in no case did I come across an instance of the use of a form other than a future one referring to the future.

### 8.3 Summary

The tense forms referring to future action were (a) the -la- form for proximate future action and rarely for remote future action, (b) the -ya ku- form for remote future, this form refers to the inception of an action in the future, and (c) the -na/ni ku- fut<sub>ure</sub> which refers to the continuance of an action in the future, whether or not that action has already commenced at the time of speech.

In the three discourses quoted the tenses referring to future events were not followed by any tense form except the participle which is not considered a subsidiary form.

In these passages there were no instances of the -a- past, the subjunctive or the infinitives used as future tense forms in subsidiarity. The only instance where a future tense form was followed by a form in subsidiary function was where the infinitive 'kuti' - 'to say' followed the -la- form interpreted as an idealised future. This lack of variety in the use of tense forms referring to the future may be compared with the wide choice exercised in the past narratives where the controlling or -aka- form was described as affecting the interpretation of several other forms which followed



it. The incidence of subsidiarity in present narrative was less than in past narrative but nonetheless there were cases where the infinitive and stabilised infinitive had to be interpreted as present forms.

From the material examined then there would appear to be a decreasing scale in the variety of tense forms used in Tonga speech, the greatest number occurring in past narratives, and a smaller number in present narrative, while the future is limited to those forms which refer to the future by virtue of their own inherent meaning. The need then for a description in terms of control and subsidiarity would not occur in future discourse. One could say that the -ya ku-tenses are 'controlling' since they refer the time of speech to the time of event but with no evidence of subsidiarity there would be no proof of the applicability of the model to future discourses.

Chapter 9Summary and Conclusion9.0 Types of control

Control and subsidiarity, is, I submit, valid as a descriptive model for certain parts of the Tonga tense system. The need for such a descriptive model arose because of apparent contradictions between the references attributed to tense forms in a neutral environment and the same tense forms when used in discourses.

The control established in the thesis was that exercised by one form upon the meaning of another. Thus the present or future -la- form was interpreted as a past when in controlled or subsidiary position. This type of control is, of course, different from that exercised by time words or extra-linguistic factors. Time words such as 'ino' - 'now' or 'lyoonse' - 'always' merely specify that the -la- form they adjoin refers to customary or current activity. Extra-linguistic factors such as the context or pointing at the object will allow listeners to know that a current or future activity is denoted. Time words and extra-linguistic factors merely give precision to a form's inherent meaning.

9.1 Control as exercised by a tense form

The control exercised by the tense form would seem to be of a different kind to that exercised by time words or extra-linguistic factors. A controlling form changes the meaning or time reference of the controlled form, and sometimes both. Thus,

- (a) The -a- or recent past form in normal or neutral conditions refers to the immediate past but in controlled position refers to events under the aspect of immediacy relative to the preceding event denoted.

(b) The -la- tense in normal or neutral conditions refers to present or future activity but as a controlled form it refers to the past under the aspect of indeterminacy.

(c) The -e and -ka- -e subjunctives in dependent position and in isolation refer to a possible future event, but in subsidiarity they require interpretation as past temporals.

(d) The stabilised infinitive, which in its limited occurrence as a tense form has a present reference; in controlled position, however, it is interpreted as a past.

(e) The unstabilised infinitive and the restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive are not normally treated as tense forms.

In past discourse they require such an interpretation. Their lack of morphological exponence of subject and tense is regarded as being supplied by the controlling form.

#### 9.1.1 Pattern of control

The pattern of control would then seem to be

(i) Tense forms such as the -a- and -la- are used as main sentence verbs. In subsidiary position they retain an aspect of their use as main verbs when they function in subsidiarity.

(ii) Forms such as the -e and -ka- -e forms which are frequently used in dependent position do not carry an aspect of their meaning with them in subsidiary function but they do retain their syntactic instability.

(iii) The infinitives, of which only one may be said to have a tense reference in neutral position, rely in subsidiarity on the controlling form to supply for their morphological deficiencies.

#### 9.1.2 Method of control

The way in which the -aka- past was described as controlling was by referring the speakers and listeners directly to



the events, e.g., D.P.P.1. (1) Wakaunka muntu lifwi eli ndyomucita nobama. - 'A man went on leave just as you children do.' Forms which occurred after that were described as being referred to the speaker and listener only through the -aka- form.

## 9.2 Tonga structuring of past experience

In this way, Tonga may be said to structure the experience of the past in a two -tiered system. That a similar occurrence appears in other languages may be seen by reference to the quotation from Cohen.<sup>1</sup> He says the notion of time is subjective and that the verb distinguishes between things which are independent of the speaking subject. Applied to Tonga it would uphold the distinction between the -aka- past as time-setting verb form, i.e., the subjective element, and the other forms under its control as being independent of the speaking subject. This has also been considered by some philosophers as an indication of our psychological attitudes to time in which, according to them, we have a double time reference scheme. McTaggart states, 'Positions in time, as time appears to us prima facie, are distinguished in two ways, In the first place each position is Earlier than some and Later than some of the others, and in the second place each position is either Past, Present or Future. The distinction of the former class are permanent, those of the latter are not. He then introduces the term A series for the 'series of positions which runs from the far past through the near future to the far future and the B.series for the 'series of positions that runs from earlier to

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<sup>1</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 26 cf.

later.'<sup>1</sup> An event such as that referred to by the -aka- past in controlling position belongs to what is called the A series, i.e., the non-permanent series and it is fixed in time by the -aka- past. Once, however, that event is fixed, then the relationship to it of other forms may be treated as belonging to the B or permanent series since they all occurred relative to the event which has been fixed by the -aka- form.

#### 9.2.1 Application to the discourses

With what has been said above in mind, then the speakers such as Mweetwa and Venelanda and the written form in Nyoko Ngumwi may be described in terms of a constant need to return to the (subjective) time reference. The other speakers and the writer in Kabuca Uleta Tunji are, on the other hand, seen as involved in the fixed world of events which follow each other in an Earlier and Later sequence. There is no need for return to tense forms which tell the listeners that the events took place in the past. The 'pastness' has been established by the -aka- form and it is the relationship of the events to one another in terms of immediacy, indeterminacy, bridging, identification, action and consequence that is important.

This then gives some pointers as to the type of tense system that Tonga uses, i.e., what are the choices the language makes among the ideas available for expression. Obviously, it uses tense forms to distinguish past from present and from future, but the aspects it chooses to stress are features which set it off from other tense systems.

In past tense it distinguishes between remote and proximate

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<sup>1</sup> Prior, p.2.



occurrences but does not distinguish between simple past events and those with current relevance. Probably the most important distinction it makes in the past are those made by what are described as the subsidiary functions of forms which have another reference in neutral position. The -a- past is used to relate one action in the past to another in terms of immediacy, the -la- form is used as a past to indicate that the action is not to be regarded as complete. In this way, Tonga uses the tense form to indicate an aspect of the verb which in Russian is indicated by two different forms of the verb. 'While the Imperfective in Russian denotes a single action which in objective reality is either completed or to be performed as a whole, it is not under this aspect that it is here named.'<sup>1</sup> Thus, although the -la- form in the past may refer to an action which is completed it is not under this aspect that it is referred to by the form.

The use of the -e and -ka- -e forms in the past as temporals is striking in that Tonga has a full series of temporal tenses. However, while the temporals are used to begin a discourse or end a sentence the -e form called a 'bridging' form is reliant on both a preceding and following element. It is thus a feature which specifically belongs within a discourse and signals by its very occurrence<sup>+</sup> that the listener should be aware that what has gone before is being bridged to what is to come next. The infinitives used as within the discourse show how the system works at maximum economy since in these cases the morphological deficiencies of these forms are supplied by the controlling forms and the narrative is carried forward without the

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Forsyth, p. 6.



repetition of information which is already in the possession of the listeners.

The present and future tenses do not offer very much interest. The present tense does have some examples of subsidiarity but they are limited. The future makes the distinction between the initiation and continuation of an action, but I have not come across any examples of subsidiarity. It is, therefore, in its structuring of past experience that the Tonga tense system is most complex and individual and where the concept of Control and Subsidiarity was seen to operate most fully as a descriptive model.

Appendix 1.

In this appendix the functions ascribed to the tense form are applied to the discourse of Jakopo Vundiyanga, D.P.P.1. The text is given at the top of the page and the tense forms are numbered as they are in the discourse. On the lower part of the page at a) the Translation (Trans.) is given, followed by the Literal Translation (Lit.), at b) the reference to the morphology section is given and at c) the function ascribed to the form within the discourse is given.

The discourse may be divided up as follows. The time reference is set by the -aka- form at (1) and this general time reference may be said to hold for the whole discourse. However, the reversion to the -aka- form at (19) and at (29) <sup>\*\*\*</sup>collated as it is with a change of subject may be said to provide three divisions within the discourse. The first of these, from (1) to (18) recounts how the policeman acted when on leave and what happened as a result, namely the arrest of Chief Monze. The second part is concerned with the people of the Monze area and what they did after the arrest; this occupies from (19) to (28). The last part, going from (29) to the end deals with the trial and imprisonment of the Chief.

Taking the first part as indicative of how the control operates the -aka- form at (1) is described as setting the general time reference for the events which Jakopo is recounting. Forms such as the -ka- -e (remote subjunctive as temporal) which occur at (3) and (4) are considered to be under the immediate control of the -a- form which occurs at (2) while this latter form is under the control of the -aka- form at (1). Similarly the infinitive 'kuti' - 'to say' translated at (7) at 'they said' is said to be under the control of the -a- form as it appears in (6) Bati - 'they said'.

In this way it can be said that forms are controlled, i.e. given their reference to the discourse either directly in following the -aka- form or mediately through a form which is itself either directly or indirectly under the control of the -aka- form which sets the time reference for the discourse.

(1) Wakaunka muntu lifwi eli ndyomucita nobana. Waali mupulisa ku Kalomo, waali mupulisa kwa Kasempa oku.

(2) Waakucita lifwi oku kubu We.

(3) Akacite lifwi,

(4) ...

(5) ...

- (1) a) Trans. A man went on leave as you children do. He was a policeman at Kalomo, he was a policeman at Kasempa's place there.  
Lit. He went a person leave this which you do you children. He was a policeman at Kalomo, he was a policeman at Kasempa's place.
- b) Prehodiernal Past affirmative, Tense 14, the -aka- past.
- c) Time Reference function. This form controls the time reference of the verb forms which follows.
- (2) a) Lit. He (distance) made leave there at We country.  
Trans. He went on leave there in We country.
- b) Hodiernal Past affirmative, Tense 12, the -a- past, the infix -aku- gives the idea of distance.
- c) The -a- form in subsidiary position at the beginning of a sentence.  
 Despite the fact that the -a- form here does not add further new facts there is no reversion to the -aka- form here.
- (3) a) Trans. When he had gone on leave . . .  
Lit. That he might make leave,
- b) Remote Subjunctive, Tense 6, the -ka- -e form.
- c) Bridging function. This form joins up what has been said at (2) with the following form at (4) which is another remote subjunctive. This form depends for its interpretation as a temporal on the fact that it is within the discourse. It depends for its time reference on the preceding -a- form and for its completion on the -ka- -e form through which it is linked to the -a- form at (4) which completes the sentence.



(4) A<sup>h</sup>kasike oku,

(5) waakwaamba kuti, 'Ha, ani mal'aaya mutolayi?'

(6) Bati, 'Ya, tutola ku Mwami mwayi, kubulelo bwesu kwa Monze'. Ani kwa Monze ayakutyani?

(7) Kuti, 'Ma, ccita, mbayakucita taata, tutola buyo'.

(4) a) Trans. when he had arrived there,

Lit. that he might arrive there,

b) as (3)

c) Bridging. Again, the -ka- -e form used as a temporal. In this case it has a narrative role in that it informs the listeners that it was only when he arrived that he spoke about the money. The form relies on the following -a- form for completion, i.e. it is syntactically unstable.

(5) a) Trans. He said, 'Where are you taking that money?'

Lit. He spoke to say, 'Ha, but money this you are taking where?'

b) as (2). -amba kuti - to speak to say is a fixed form.

c) Immediacy relative to the preceding form indicating that he spoke on arrival.

(6) a) Trans. They said, 'We are taking it to the Chief friend, to our ruler at Monze's place'.

'And what's it for?'

Lit. They said 'Ya, we are taking it to the Chief friend, to rulership ours at Monze's place'

'But at Monze's place it is going to do what?'

b) The hodiernal past, Tense 12, the -a- past.

c) Immediacy. They spoke in answer to the question put to them.

(7) a) Trans. They said, We don't know, they are the ones who decide. We are just taking it.'

Lit. To say, Ma, we don't know, they are who are going to do father, we are taking only.'

b) Infinitive or nomino-verbal. This is not normally considered a tense form.

c) Identification. The subject and tense marker are inferred.

(8) Ati, 'Yoo, ncibotu'. Ooyo mupulisa oyo, musilikani oyo,

(9) akasike ku Kalomo

(10) kuti, 'Oh, nobasilikani, nobami, mali ngotubeleka aya kwa Monze'?

'Aya kwa Monze'?

(11) Kutu, 'Ee'.

'Ah, Monze oy, wacita cibyaabi, kaashe, mbabami-bami-bami taata'.

(8) a) Trans. He said, 'Alright'.

Lit. He said, 'Yoo, it is good'.

b) as (6)

c) Immediacy relative to what had been said by the people.

(9) a) Trans. When that policeman, the askari, had arrived at Kalomo.

Lit. That policeman that, askari that, that he might arrive at Kalomo

b) as (3).

c) Temporal bridging. This form joins up the conversation the man had had with his people in We country with what he said when he got to his post at Kalomo.

(10) a) Trans. He said, Fellow policemen, the money we earn is going to Monze'.

'It is going to Monze?'

Lit. to say, 'Oh, you askaris, you chiefs, the money we work for it is going to Monze's place', 'It is going to Monze's place?'

b) As (7)

c) Identification. Here the form is dependent on the -ka- -e form at (9) for its inferred subject and mediately on that subject for its time reference. It is said to depend mediately on the -ka- -e form since that form is itself subsidiary and therefore dependent for time reference on a preceding form.

(11) a) Trans. He said, 'Yes', 'Well, that Monze has done something very wrong, he's a useless chief'.

Lit. To say, Ah, Monze this he has done very badly kaashe, he is a chief-chief-chief, father'.

b) a<sup>s</sup> (7) and (11).

c) as (7) and (11). The subject is inferred to be the policeman who had gone on leave.

Bami bakokuya, bamakuwa bapati, bati ba Libbani,

(12) basungulani? (13) basungula mabbebbani, mukuwa mujoni, mabebbbani  
mujoni. (14) Basungulani? (15) Basungula Seejani Namazaka Inkepwe zyotatwe  
ku . . Namazaka.

(16) Bazoojata Monze kuya bamapulisa.

(12) a) Trans. The important people from down there, the head Europeans,  
called the beribboned ones now who did they send for? They sent for that  
shouting policeman, the European policeman. Who did they send for? They  
sent for Serjeant Namazaka. The one with three stripes., Serjeant Namazaka.

Lit. The chiefs of there, the Europeans, the big ones, they say the ribbons,  
(12) they led whom? (13) They led the shouter, a European policeman, a  
shouter policeman. (14) They led whom? (15) They led Serjeant Namazaka.  
Stripes three on . . Namazaka.

b) The hodiernal past, -a- past.

c) The first instance of the form is given as operating in the function  
of immediacy while the others which follow are interpreted as dramatic re-  
petition.

(16) a) Trans. The policemen came to arrest Monze.

Lit. They came to catch Monze there the policemen.

b) The hodiernal past. The morphology is as follows,

b-      -a-      -zoo-      -jat-      -a

They past 'come to' 'catch' tense sign.

Other Tonga speakers might use 'bazyikujata' i.e.

-a-  
b-<sub>h</sub>zyi- -ku- jat- -a.

c) Immediacy. Showing that the policemen came immediately to Monze's place  
to arrest the Chief.



(17) Bamujate Monze.

(18) bamutola.

(19) Bakatobela

(20) kuti, 'Mwami wajatwa'.

(17) Trans. When they had arrested him

Lit. That they might him take

b) The subjunctive, tense 4. The -e tense.

c) Temporal bridging function. This form joins up the statement that they came and arrested Monze with what they were to do then. The form depends for its interpretation as a temporal on its position within the discourse, it must also be completed by another form, in this case by the -a- past at (18).

(18) a) Trans. they took him away.

Lit. they him took.

b) as (6)

c) Immediacy relative to the form telling of the arrest.

(19) a) Trans. They followed.

Lit. They followed.

b) as (1)

c) This reversion to the -aka- past is interpreted in terms of a change of subject. The subject of the previous verb forms was also 'b-' - 'they' (referring to the policemen). This 'b-' 'they' refers to the people from Monze's area.

(20) a) Trans. saying, 'The chief has been arrested'.

Lit. to say, 'The chief has been arrested'.

b) The infinitive.

c) As the speaker might have substituted the Present Participle, 'kabati' - 'they saying' the form is interpreted as 'saying'.

(21) Bakatobela.

Toonse (22) twakaunka.

(23) twatobela.

(24) Tukasike kuya kuopesi.

(25) kuti, 'Ee, twamujata Mwami'.

(21) a) Trans. and Lit. They followed.

b) as (1) and (19)

c) Dramatic repetition.

(22) a) Trans. We all set out.

Lit. We all we set out.

b) as (1), (19) and (21).

c) This reversion to the -aka- past is interpreted in terms of a change of subject.

(23) a) Trans. and Lit. we followed.

b) as (6) and (18)

c) Immediacy. The controlling verb for this form is at (18) bamutola - 'they took him away and the use of the -a- form at (23) here indicates that we followed immediately the Chief had been taken off.

(24) a) Trans. When we had arrived there at the office.

Lit. That we might arrive there to the office.

b) as (3) and (4).

c) Temporal bridging. This joins the statements about the people going after the captured Chief with what is to occur in the office.

(25) a) Trans. they said, 'Yes, we have arrested the Chief'.

Lit. to say, 'Yes, we have him arrested the Chief'.

b) as (7) and (11)

c) Identification. The subject is inferred to be the policemen at the office.

Aba We (26) twaakujana

(27) basika kale ntentente banji-banji.

(28) Kuti, 'Oh, twamuleta. Ngooyu waali kutola mal'aanu. Kamuboola'.

(29) Bakaunka muopesi lebelebelebelebe.

(26) a) Trans. And we found (that) the ba We

Lit. And the ba We we (distance) found

b) as (2)

c) Immediacy.

(27) a) Trans. they had already arrived in droves.

Lit. they have arrived already, crowds, they many-many.

b) as (2)

c) The interpretation of the -a- form here as 'they had arrived' depends on its following on a 'private verb' (cf. 3.2).

(28) a) Trans. They said, 'Yes, we have brought him. Here is the one who was taking your money. Come'.

b) as (7), (11) and (25).

c) Identification.

29) a) Trans. They went into the office, pouring in one after the other.

Lit. They went into the office.

b) as (1), (19) and (21).

c) Change of subject. Everyone went into the office and not just the We people.



(30) Bakaakwiitwa mazyina, 'Ndaba'.

'Ii'.

'Mali ngowakatola kuli Monze malinzi?'

'Mali aya'.

Ngaayo Monze (31) nkuzubula. Aumwi (32) nkuzubula, aumwi (33) nkuzubula, aumwi (34) nkuzubula, aumwi (35) nkuzubula, aumwi (36) nku<sup>z</sup>ubula limwi mal'aaya..

(31) Trans. And then Mon

(30) a) Trans. Their names were called, 'So and so'.

'Yes'

'How much money did you take to Monze?' 'So and so much'

Lit. They were finally called the names, 'So and so'.

'Yes'. Money which you took to Monze, money how much 'Money this'.

b) as (1), (19), (21) and (29) with the infix -aku-.

c) Dramatic Repetition. The subject and the tense form is the same in both (29) and (30) thus giving equal emphasis to each form.

(31) Trans. And then Monze counted out the money, to the first and to the next, and to the next and to the next and to the next (until the last of it fell clinking down).

Lit. There is Monze (31) it is to count out. And to the next (32) it is to count out, and to the next (33) it is to count out, and to the next (34) it is to count out, and to the next (35) it is to count out and to the next it is to (36) count out until money this . .

b) Stabilised infinitive, the nku- form.

c) Action. The stress is laid by this form on the action being carried out. The subject is inferred to be Monze though the form is not marked for subject. The time reference is taken from the discourse since the form is not marked for tense.

(37) aakuwaala nketeeke.

(38) Baamba makuwa (38a) ati, 'Tookabba pe. Mwazyulizya noba We, mal'aanu oonse, akwana?'

(39) Kuti, 'Inzya oonse akwana'.

'Kwiina asweeka kubon'aanga wakalya Monze pe?'

(40) Kuti, 'Kunyina, oonse ngaaya mpali'.

(37) a) Trans. until the last of it fell clinking down.

Lit. until money this it fell clink clink.

b) as (2).

c) Immediacy

(38) and (38a) Trans. The Europeans said, 'You did not steal. Have you all the correct amount, is it right?'

Lit. They spoke the Europeans they said, 'You did not steal no. Have you filled up you ba We, money yours all, it is correct.

b) As (2).

c) Immediacy. They spoke immediately after the last of the money had been counted out.

(39) a) Trans. They said, 'Yes it is correct'.

Lit. To say, Yes all it is correct'.

b) as (7), (11), (25) and (28).

c) Identification. The subject is inferred to be the We people.

(40) a) Trans. They said, 'No, it is all here'.

Lit. To say, 'There is not, all here it is, it is here'.

b) and c) are the same as for (39).

(41) Nkokuti, 'Woo Monze, lino utakaatambuli kabili mal'aabantu.

Lino tulakubikka muntolongo. Tulakubikka muntolongo. Utakaatambuli kabili'.

(41) a) Trans. So eventually they said,

'Alright Monze, now don't accept the people's money again. We are now going to put you in prison. We're putting you in prison. You are not to accept money again'.

Lit. It is the saying, Woo, Monze, now do not it receive twice money of people. Now we will you put in prison. We will you put in prison. Let you not it receive twice.

b) Restrictive stabilisation of the infinitive, the nkoku- form.

c) Consequence. The form is interpreted as an indicative in the past within the discourse, even though it is not marked for either subject or tense.



APPENDIX 2

In describing the Tonga verb system I have set up a double time reference scheme whereby the -aka- form relates the time of speech to the time of the event, while the -a- form is only related to the time of event <sup>there is a not dissimilar situation in</sup> mediately through the -aka- form. / Slav and Arabic, as may be seen by reference to the quotation from Cohen in the text of the thesis, where he says that the verb distinguishes between things which are independent of the speaking subject, while the notion of time has a subjective character. It is also significant that some philosophers would hold that it has a psychological reality, that we do in fact, have two time reference lines. The following quotation is taken from Prior; "Positions in time", McTaggart says, as time appears to us *prima facie*, are distinguished in two ways. In the first place each position is Earlier than some and Later than some of the others, and in the second place, each position is either Past, Present or Future. The distinctions of the former class are permanent, those of the latter are not. If M is ever earlier than N, it is always earlier. But an event, which is now present, was future, and will be past." He then introduces the term A series for the "series of positions which runs from the far past through the near future to the far future," and the term B series for "the series of positions that runs from earlier to later." He notes that "the movement of time consists on the fact that later and later terms pass into the present or, - which is the same fact expressed in another way - that presentness passes to later and later terms. If we take it the first way, we are taking the B series as sliding along a fixed A series. If we take it the second way, we are taking the A series as sliding along a fixed B series. McTaggart then argues that the B series presupposes the A series rather than vice-versa. His argument starts from the

fact that "time involves change", and that the only way in which events can change is in respect of their A characteristics. If time consisted of a B series only, change could not consist in one event "ceasing to be an event" while another took its place, for the place of events in the B series is permanent, and so are all their other characteristics and relations, except their place in the A series. "Take any event - the death of Queen Anne, for example - and consider what changes can take place in its characteristics. That it is a death, that it is the death of Anne Stuart, that it has such causes, that it has such effects - every characteristic of this sort never changes. 'Before the stars on another plain,' the event in question was the death of a Queen. At the last moment of time - if time has a last moment - it will still be the death of a Queen. And in every respect but one, it is equally void of change. But in one respect it does change. It was an event in the far future. It became every moment an event in the nearer future. At last it was present. Then it became past, and will always remain past, though every moment it becomes further past." To this last sentence he adds a further comment. "The past, therefore, is always changing, if the A series is real at all, since at each moment - a past event is further in the past than it was before ...". It is worthwhile to notice this since most people combine the view that the A series is real with the view that the past cannot change'.<sup>1</sup>

The above long quotation was given because it would seem helpful in the description of the relationship between the -aka- and the -a-pasts in narrative.

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<sup>1</sup> Prior, 1967, p. 2.

Application of A series and B series to Tonga

Tonga would seem to take cognisance of the A series by the initiating or controlling functions of the tense forms and of the B series by the non-initiating or subsidiary functions. In the sentence quoted above, 'Eno (3) bakababweza ba Matabele (4) babatola.' 'Then the Matabele laid hands on her and immediately took her away.' the -aka- form in no. 3 would seem to set the action in the A series. This would make 'bakababweza' - 'they laid hands on her' similar to the reference to the death of Queen Anne as an event. Before the Matabele came, it was an event in the future, it became every moment an event in the nearer future. At last it was present. Then it became past, and will always remain past, though every moment it becomes further past. However, the fact that the Matabele 'took her away' is not related to the same time scale, rather it is 'later' than the event referred to by the verb in no. 3 and is therefore on the B scale. This is, in the words quoted above, a permanent characteristic, for once an event is later than another it is always later than it.

I would hold, therefore, that Tonga is able to use the two tense forms which have apparently contradictory time references because they refer to two different time reference schemes. Or in the words of McTaggart, because they belong to two different time series.



Appendix 3

Tonga in common with other Bantu languages has a perfective suffix which gives rise to virtually a new range of tense forms cf. Morphology Section, Tenses 51-68. These perfect tense forms are usually taken to indicate a state in the present and to denote that one action had taken place before the other in the past (the pluperfect). I have interpreted the perfect tenses as indicating a transitory state in both present and past.

The past example of a perfective which occurred in the thesis came from Pauline Mukansefwa when she was describing what happens at a funeral. It is the custom among the Tonga for the dead man to be dressed in his best clothes and while this is being done the widow is taken away temporarily. Paulina begins this partly saying:

(1) Nobamusamika mulum'aako (2) tomubwene pe.

Literal Translation.

(1) When they are dressing husband yours (2) you do not see him no.

Translation.

While they are dressing your husband you do not see him.

The perfect tense was used at 'tomubwene' because the implication of the perfect is different from that of the indicative. If the negative of the indicative had been used we would have had, 'tomuboni pe' 'You do not him see no.' This would have implied either that you never see him again or that you are unable to see him. The use of the perfect suffix implies that you do not see him for the moment. For this reason the perfect suffix is interpreted as implying a state of affairs that will pass or that is transitory. Other examples that bear out this interpretation of the perfective are:

Incinga iliponcede - 'The bicycle is punctured (but is repairable)

Imwana ulifwile - 'The child has fainted'. This latter may be contrasted with 'imwana wafwa' - 'The child has died'. The use of the perfective of -fw- 'to die' to indicate fainting gives the idea that the person looks as if he is dead, but only for a while.

Ndikkede kuli banene pesi ndikkala ku Lusaka. 'I am staying (living for a while) with my grandparents but I live in Lusaka.' This was said by a school child who stayed with his grandparents while at school but whose parents lived in Lusaka.

In the past tenses this suffix is used to indicate that a certain state or event is now over, i.e., that it had taken place but it is no longer in existence. For example, I told a petrol pump attendant at Chisekesi (140 miles from Lusaka), 'Ndaunka ku Lusaka sunu', which I thought meant 'I went to Lusaka today.' He corrected me, saying 'Ndaunkide ku Lusaka sunu.' The reason he gave for the correction was 'nkaambo mpoli' - 'because you are here.' He then went on to explain that if I used 'Ndaunka ku Lusaka' I would mean either that I intended to go to Lusaka that day or that I was still in Lusaka. Both of these were manifestly impossible since it was already night and I was in Chisekesi. The use of the perfect form indicated that the going was completed and over. In English, while the perfect form is not used, we might compare the following, 'He has gone to Lusaka' (Waunka ku Lusaka) implying that he is still there, and 'He has been in Lusaka today' (Waunkide ku Lusaka sunu), implying that he has been to Lusaka and returned.

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